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CONTINUING PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY TO WAIVE FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION PROVISIONS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

AUGUST 8, 1984

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CONTINUING PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY TO WAIVE FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION PROVISIONS

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1984

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2 p.m. in room SD-215, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. John C. Danforth (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Dole, Danforth, and Heinz.

[The press release announcing the hearing and the prepared statements of Senators Dole, Danforth, and Heinz follow:]

[Press Release No. 84-159]

FINANCE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE TO HOLD HEARING ON CONTINUING THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO WAIVE THE TRADE ACT FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION PROVISIONS

Senator John C. Danforth (R., MO.), Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade, announced today that the Subcommittee will hold a hearing on continuing the President's authority to waive application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402, the freedom of emigration provision, of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618).

The hearing will begin at 2:00 p.m., Wednesday, August 8, 1984 in Room SD-215 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building.

Chairman Danforth noted that on May 31, 1984, the President transmitted to Congress his recommendation under section 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act, that the waiver authority be extended 12 months to July 3, 1985. This recommendation was based on his determination under section 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act, that the extension of the waiver authority will substantially promote the objectives of freedom of emigration in general and, in particular, in cases of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China.

The Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China are the only nonmarket economy countries which have been granted nondiscriminatory (most-favored-nation (MFN)) trade treatment under the authority of the Trade Act of 1974, Chairman Danforth said.

The Chairman said that the President's recommendation on May 31, 1984, set in motion a schedule of procedures by which the Congress may either terminate, by adoption of a simple resolution in either House, or permit by inaction the extension of the authority by which the President may waive the freedom of emigration condition of MFN treatment. Although the Supreme Court's decision in *INS* v. *Chadha* on June 23, 1983, has effectively altered this procedure, Chairman Danforth emphasized the Committee's continued interest in reviewing the President's recommendation.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DOLE

The Supreme Court's decision in the *Chadha* case may have invalidated the legislative veto provided for in the Jackson-Vanik amendment, but it has not diminished this committee's interest in the freedom of people to emigrate from Eastern Europe. The President's decision to continue MFN treatment for Hungary, Romania and China can still be disapproved, should Congress wish to do so, by a bill or a joint resolution, and this committee remains committed to an annual review of the President's decision.

I am pleased that Romania's emigration record has improved over the past year. Although the situation in Romania is still difficult, we have reason to be encouraged.

The Supreme Court's *Chadha* decision invites review of the Jackson-Vanik amendment to develop a new mechanism for congressional involvement in the granting of MFN. Indeed, it seems to me that we should take another look at the Jackson-Vanik amendment to see if we can improve on the tools available to us in fostering respect for human rights and better trade relations with the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union. Specifically, we might look at multi-year MFN, fast track congressional procedures and other ideas to enhance the effectiveness of this provision.

STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN JOHN C. DANFORTH

Today the Subcommittee on International Trade will receive testimony on the President's authority to waive application of the freedom of emigration provisios of Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 with respect to Romania, Hungary and the People's Republic of China.

Since assuming the Chairmanship of this Subcommittee, I have presided over this hearing on an annual basis. The Committee takes its responsibility for overseeing this provision of U.S. trade law with the utmost seriousness, and I think it is fair to say that this year, our perseverance appears to be paying off: The situation with respect to the People's Republic of China and Hungary remains positive, and signficiant improvements are evident with respect to Romania's emigration practices.

In the case of Romania, the picture is positive but still rather mixed: In the past year, we have seen substantial increases in the number of those permitted to emigrate. Also, I am pleased that last year's problems with the education tax seem to have been resolved. However, I am mindful that other procedural obstacles to emigration remain, where prospective emigrants continue to face delays and harassment. Certain longstanding emigration cases which have enjoyed support in the United States remain unresolved, and I would hope to see these resolved in the coming year, along with continued improvements on the broader human rights front. Human rights concerns brought to the attention of the Subcommittee in the past year include prisoners of conscience, restrictions on freedom of expression, antisemitic publications, religious liberty and minority rights problems. It is my hope and expectation that continued improvements on these fronts will allow future reviews of the Section 402 waiver with minimal controversy.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN HEINZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA

As a member both of the Finance Committee and the Helsinki Commission, I am convinced that the Jackson-Vanik Amendment has had a positive impact on the lives of the peoples of Hungary and Romania. The annual Most-Favored-Nation review has helped to reduce barriers to emigration and has led to limited improvements in the general human rights area. Congress will continue to play a vigorous role in the MFN review process to ensure that more progress is made.

In regard to Hungary, I am pleased to note that for the second year in a row there are no unresolved family reunification cases between our two countries and that Hungary remains the nation in the East Bloc most tolerant of dissent. Therefore, I support the renewal of MFN status to Hungary for another year in the hope and expectation that this good performance will continue. Having said that, I must nevertheless point out that Hungarian emigration laws remain restrictive and that this may discourage some Hungarian citizens from applying to emigrate or create new problem cases in the future. Furthermore, I am disturbed by the continued harassment of certain Hungarian citizens who, in conformity with the Helsinki Final Act, speak out on human rights and other sensitive issues. Harassment has taken the form of periodic searches, fines, detentions, police reprimands and, unfortunately, on one occasion, physical violence. It certainly would be a pleasure to note at next year's MFN hearings that these problems have been favorably resolved as well.

As far as Romania is concerned, some progress has been made since last year. 1983 year-end emigration totals to the United States and Federal Republic of Germany were the highest ever achieved. Monthly totals for the first six months of

1984 indicate that these high levels are being sustained. From January through June a record 2,413 Romanian citizens emigrated to the United States. Although the 1983 emigration total for Israel was less than that of 1982, the levels for the first half of 1984 are promising. I hope that this trend will persist. Also, according to the State Department, the average waiting period for a filed passport application to be processed has been shortened, although the processing time remains in excess of the six months called for in the Madrid Concluding Document of Helsinki signatory states.

However, these positive developments take place within a grim context. Strong official opposition to any kind of emigration is manifested in restrictive emigration laws, regulations, and practices. Prospective emigrants continue to face punitive sanctions both before and after they obtain passports, including dismissal from jobs, reduction of job status and wages, public denunciation, and danger of arrest and imprisonment. The majority of those who are permitted to emigrate endure months if not years of harassment and have to overcome countless procedural impediments before they receive permission to emigrate. Romanian citizens who attempt to secure permission to marry a foreigner face an emotionally draining wait for 12–24 months, the longest in the East Bloc. Longstanding emigration case which enjoy the support of the U.S. and other government remain unresolved.

The overall human rights situation in Romania is bleak. On June 4, the State Department released the President's sixteenth semiannual report on Helsinki implementation covering the period December 1, 1983 to March 31, 1984. The report stated that Romanian observance of the basic human rights (as distinct from emigration) provisions of the Helsinki Final Act has been poor. It indicated that "the number of incidents of government harassment of Protestants, particularly Baptist pastors, substantially increased" during the reporting period and noted "the publication by government-supervised publishing houses of a number of anti-Semitic articles, poems and a book." Other troubling concerns brought to the attention of both the Helsinki Commission and Finance Committee include Romania's unresponsiveness to the cultural and educational needs of Romania's Hungarian, German and other national minorities and persecution of minority rights activists. Of particular concern to me are the welfare of prisoners of conscience, such as Father Gheorghe Calciu, a dissenting Orthodox priest imprisoned since 1979, and the death under highly questionable circumstances early this year of Father Geza Palfi, a Roman Catholic priest of Hungarian descent. Only yesterday, the Helsinki Commission learned that two activist Baptist pastors from Medias, Beni Cocar and Ion Steff, have been called into court for preaching without state permission.

I realize that our deliberations today cannot be divorced from our policies toward Eastern Europe as a whole. While it is important to recognize Romania's occasional independence on certain foreign policy issues, our values compel us and the Jackson-Vanik amendment commands us to call Romania to account for its continuing violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Recently, at the Olympic opening ceremonies, those gathered in the stadium deservedly gave a warm reception to the athletes from Romania, the only Warsaw Pact nation not to join the Soviet boycott. But the stirring Olympic drama does not, and should not, draw our attention away from the desperate human dramas taking place back in Romania. The anguish of divided families, the persecution of rights activists and the plight of political prisoners remain the deep and abiding concerns of the Finance Committee and the Helsinki Commission.

Senator **Danforth**. Today the Subcommittee on International Trade will receive testimony on the President's authority to waive application of the freedom of emigration provisions of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 with respect to Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China.

Since assuming the chairmanship of this subcommittee, I have presided over this hearing on an annual basis. The committee takes its responsibility for overseeing this provision of U.S. trade law with the utmost seriousness, and I think it is fair to say that this year our perseverence appears to be paying off: The situation with respect to the People's Republic of China and Hungary remains positive, and significant improvements are evident with respect to Romania's emigration practices.

In the case of Romania, the picture is positive but still rather mixed. In the past year we have seen substantial increases in the number of those permitted to emigrate. Also, I am pleased that last year's problems with the education tax seem to have been resolved. However, I am mindful that other procedural obstacles to emigration remain, where prospective emigrants continue to face delays and harassment. Certain longstanding emigration cases which have enjoyed support in the United States remain unresolved, and I would hope to see these resolved in the coming year, along with continued improvements on the broader human rights front. Human rights brought to the attention of the subcommittee in the past year include prisoners of conscience, restrictions on freedom of expression, anti-Semitic publications, religious liberty, and minority rights problems. It is my hope and expectation that continued improvements on these fronts will allow future reviews of the section 402 waiver with minimal controversy.

I would like to point out, before we hear from our first witnesses, that there are a number of witnesses on this list. I think that the witnesses have been given time limitations by the staff. It is my hope that the witnesses will observe those limitations, and it is also a matter of insistence that order be maintained in the hearing room. Sometimes in these MFN hearings in the past, people have felt that they are called upon to make speeches from the audience, and that is not going to be tolerated by the subcommittee.

The first witnesses are Mr. Mark Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, European Bureau; and William A. Brown, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, East Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau.

Gentlemen, thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF R. MARK PALMER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY, EUROPEAN BUREAU, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. **Palmer**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will abbreviate my statement, which you have in its full form.

With respect to Romania, I would point out a special circumstance of some topical interest. As we are meeting here today, Romanian athletes are competing in the Los Angeles Olympic games as the only team from a Warsaw Pact country. Judging from the standing ovation which greeted the Romanian team at the Olympics opening ceremony, the decision earned the respect of the American people.

Over the last year, Romania has taken a number of foreign policy positions different from the Soviet Union's. We appreciate its efforts to encourage the Soviets to return to the negotiating table on intermediate nuclear forces and use its situation as the Warsaw Pact's only country having diplomatic relations with Israel in efforts to alleviate Mideast tensions.

The Romanian economy remains in a difficult period of structural adjustment and austerity, with painful consequences for the people. Nevertheless, its trade with the United States is increasing, and it is to be hoped that hard currency earnings and economic adjustments will offer a better future for the Romanian consumer.

The United States remains concerned about Romania's performance in the area of human rights. We do not pretend that the problems are not serious. I want to repeat publicly what we have privately told Romanian officials for years, that human rights abuses resulting either from policy or irresponsible acts of local officials are a serious matter and are harmful to good relations.

We have a dialog with the Romanian Government about human rights, and we have been able to discuss candidly problems such as the incidents of public anti-Semitism in Romania and reports concerning the situation of ethnic minorities.

The main purpose of today's hearing of course is to review that country's performance in allowing Romanians to emigrate freely, provided other countries are willing to receive them.

As you noted, Mr. Chairman, overall emigration from Romania increased in 1983 from the already-high levels of 1982, and the first 6 months of 1984 show further improvement.

In 1983, 18,787 people received visas to emigrate to the Federal Republic of Germany, to the United States, and to Israel from those countries' embassies in Bucharest. Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel rose sharply in September 1983, and Israeli monthly visa issuance has been in the range of 125 to 198 since then.

During January through June of this year, 1,000 Romanian Jews, an increase of 95.7 percent over the first 6 months of last year, received visas for Israel. That is more than in all of 1979 and nearly as many as in the entire years 1981 or 1982. We hope that Romanian Jewish emigration will increase or at least remain at current levels. So far in 1984, emigration to the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany has also significantly increased.

Since 1983, the Romanian authorities have approved more emigrants for the United States than we have been able to accept. Monthly U.S. visa issuance figures have fluctuated, not because of Romanian cynicism in allowing emigration approvals to decline after MFN was accomplished but because of the availability of U.S. refugee processing numbers. There are currently some 800 people in Romania who have passports in hand with exit visas valid for the United States, and who are qualified for admission to the United States as refugees through the Third Country Processing Program, whom we are unable to process for want of refugee numbers. In fact, we have had to use means including the Voice of America's broadcasts to caution Romanians from applying to emigrate to the United States unless they have assurance of receiving an American visa.

On the procedural side, there have been improvements over the last year within the continuing context of the Romanian authorities' active discouragement of emigration in principle. Those who apply for departure face a range of potential sanctions ranging from loss of jobs to eviction from housing and denial of access to health and education facilities. We are, therefore, Mr. Chairman, in agreement with your concern still over procedures.

Over the last year, however, the sanctions and other devices used by the authorities as disincentives for emigration have become somewhat less severe and less inhumane. Intending emigrants' complaints to the American Embassy about official harassment have continued to decline. Reports of layoffs, demotions, and transfers to distant locations are still received, but less frequently than in recent years. Those who do complain about loss of jobs or active harassment by the policy appear mostly to have suffered this treatment in 1979 or 1980, when they first applied to emigrate.

The Romanian Governmen has respected its understandings with us to engage in bilateral discussions on emigration. We have had frequent private exchanges in Bucharest and Washington about problem cases and procedures.

Thus, we have concerns about human rights in Romania, but we believe real progress has been made on emigration since the granting of MFN in 1975, and the underpinnings for further progress have been firmly established.

Turning now to Hungary, it is clear that the United States-Hungarian relationship has continued to develop in a constructive and positive manner. While recognizing that we both have national interests and international responsibilities which often diverge, we nevertheless have successfully expanded a frank yet cordial and useful bilateral dialog.

Among the issues which concern us here today, perhaps the most positive aspect is the responsible approach which the Government of Hungary takes in meeting its commitments regarding the emigration of its citizens.

Hungarian law permits permanent departure rights only to those individuals over 55 years of age. However, in general practice, the Government has granted the majority of the applications to emigrate from people under that age ceiling. As of this moment, the Government has resolved all divided-family cases; not one is outstanding.

Trade is an expanding cornerstone of our relations with Hungary, and MFN treatment granted since 1978 has been an important factor in the growth of this sector.

Although Hungary has established certain import restrictions in 1982 on products from hard currency states because of their serious balance-of-payments problems, the Hungarian Government has relaxed those restrictions and plans to eliminate them entirely by the end of this year.

In sum, MFN has served the economic and political interests of the United States as well as Romania and Hungary. It has worked for the economic well-being of the Romanian and Hungarian people; it has stimulated freer emigration.

The American people rightly look for respect for human rights in those nations with which we have friendly relations. MFN for Romania and Hungary has served that objective well and has worked to ensure that our relations with those countries have a solid basis.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Danforth**. Mr. Palmer, thank you.

[Mr. Palmer's written testimony follows:]

STATEMENT FOR R. MARK PALMER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE,

AUGUST 8, 1984

Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to testify for the Administration concerning the extension of the President's waiver authority under section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 and continuation of the specific waivers permitting Most Favored Nation (MFN) tariff treatment for Romania, Hungary, and China. My testimony addresses the waivers for Romania and Hungary, while Mr. Brown, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs, will discuss the waiver for China. Our colleagues at Commerce, Treasury, and USTR are submitting written testimony.

The continuation of MFN treatment for Romania and Hungary remains an important aspect of our policies toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Despite the imposition of political and economic systems from the outside after World War II and common membership in the Warsaw Pact, the countries of Eastern Europe have increasingly found means to express their historic diversity. Over time and within widening limits, these countries have been able to signal their differences from the Soviet ideal imposed in 1945. To be sure, some of the differences are more important and more positive than others, but the overall pattern is significant.

o There are wide differences among East European countries -- and with the Soviets -- in respect to emigration, human rights, and treatment of dissent.

o Some East European countries have taken major steps toward market-economy systems which put a premium on efficiency, and thereby stimulate need for incentives such as better working conditions, housing, access to consumer goods, and overall respect for human rights.

o There are significant differences in the East European countries' contributions to the Warsaw Pact's military outlays and in their political readiness to support a Soviet military challenge to NATO.

o Some East European countries have expressed foreign policy disagreements with the Soviets, in some cases exercising restraint on hard-line Soviet positions.

MFN treatment for Romania and Hungary is important because it demonstrates our respect and encouragement for Eastern Europe's diversity, for its efforts to push back the limits of Soviet control. Successive administrations have recognized the need to deal with Eastern European countries as separate and distinct entities. MFN treatment is tangible proof of that recognition. It also demonstrates that, while we have not shirked on our commitments to speak out against the violations and abuses of human rights in the area, we are willing to improve political and economic relations with countries which are conscious of their need to respect norms of conduct in the human rights area and play a responsible role in international affairs.

That is the overall context for the administration's view, as conveyed in President Reagan's May 31 determination and report to Congress, that renewal of Most Favored Nation status for Hungary and Romania is appropriate and desirable.

In respect to Romania, I should point out a special circumstance of topical interest. As we are meeting here today, Romanian athletes are competing in the Los Angeles Olympic games as the only team from a Warsaw Pact country. We know that most other East European countries were unimpressed by Soviet arguments for staying away from the Olympics, but felt compelled to swallow their disappointment. Romania's decision to ignore the Soviet-sponsored boycott was courageous and principled. Judging from the standing ovation which greeted the Romanian team at the Olympics opening ceremonies, the decision earned the respect of the American people.

Over the last year, Romania has taken a number of foreign policy positions different from the Soviet Union's. We appreciate its efforts to encourage the Soviets to return to the negotiating table on intermediate nuclear forces, and to use its situation as the Warsaw Pact's only country having diplomatic relations with Israel in efforts to alleviate Mid-East tensions. The Romanian economy remains in a difficult period of structural adjustment and austerity with painful consequences for the people. Romania has significantly reduced its foreign indebtedness, from around $10.1 billion in 1981 to about $8.8 billion at the end of 1983. At the same time, its trade with the U.S. is increasing, and it is to be hoped that hard-currency earnings and economic adjustments will offer a better future for Romanian consumers.

The United States remains concerned about Romania's performance on human rights. We do not pretend that the problems are not serious. We understand that Romania's level of economic development and current economic difficulties contribute to some of the problems. But we do not accept that respect for basic human rights -- including freedom from arbitrary sanctions for unauthorized political or religious expression, and physical abuse of individuals by police authorities -- are a luxury for Western developed societies. There should be no misunderstanding -- either in this room or in Bucharest -- that extension of Romania's MFN status somehow constitutes tacit U.S. acceptance of the negative side of Romania's human rights record. That is not so: we are in earnest about human rights. I want to repeat publicly what we have privately told Romanian officials for years -- that human rights abuses resulting either from policy or irresponsible acts of local officials are a serious matter and are harmful to good relations.

We have a dialogue with the Romanian Government about human rights. Earlier this year in Washington, we hosted a human rights roundtable which brought Romanian Government officials together with U.S. public figures and government officials who deal with Romania. There was considerable informal follow-up to the meeting in respect to specific cases and concerns. Over the years, the scope of our human rights discussions with the Romanian Government has broadened. We have been able to discuss candidly problems such as incidence of public anti-Semitism in Romania and reports concerning the situation of ethnic minorities. The Romanian authorities have agreed to visits to the country by U.S. officials and religious leaders to review the situation of the Romanian Jewish community, the status of the Hungarian minority, and treatment of religion. We look forward to more formal meetings with the Romanians next year and in 1986 on human rights and human contacts.

The main purpose of today's hearings with respect to Romania is to review that country's performance in allowing Romanians to emigrate freely, provided other countries are willing to receive them. Emigration performance has two major aspects: emigration statistics, which are a measure of the Romanian authorities' willingness to let their citizens depart for reasons including family reunification, and emigration procedures, which are an indicator of hardships inflicted on those Romanians who wish to leave. I am pleased to report very considerable progress with respect to statistics, and notable progress on procedures. First let me talk about statistics.

Overall emigration from Romania increased in 1983 from the high levels of 1982, and the first six months of 1984 show further improvement. In 1983, 18,787 people received visas to emigrate to the FRG, U.S. and Israel from those countries' embassies in Bucharest. That total includes 3,499 people departing for the U.S., an increase of 47 percent over 1982; 13,957 people departing for the FRG, an increase of 20.9 percent, and 1,331 people departing for Israel, a reduction of 9.7 percent from the relatively high figure in 1982. However, Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel rose sharply in September 1983, and Israeli monthly visa issuance has been in the range of 125-198 since then. During January through June of this year, 1,000 Romanian Jews -- an increase of 95.7 percent over the first six months of last year -- received visas for Israel. That is more than in all of 1979, and nearly as many as in the entire years 1981 or 1982. We hope that Romanian Jewish emigration will increase or at least remain at current levels. So far in 1984, emigration to the U.S. and FRG has also significantly increased. Since 1982, the Romanian authorities have approved more emigrants for the U.S. than we have been able to accept. Monthly U.S. visa issuance figures have fluctuated not because of Romanian cynicism in allowing emigration approvals to decline after MFN renewal is accomplished, but because of the availability of U.S. refugee processing numbers. There are currently some 800 people in Romania who have passports in hand with exit visas valid for the U.S. -- and who are qualified for admission to the U.S. as refugees through the Third Country Processing program -- whom we are currently unable to process for want of refugee numbers. In fact, we have had to use means including VOA broadcasts to caution Romanians from applying to emigrate to the U.S. unless they have assurance of receiving an American visa.

On the procedural side, there have been improvements over the last year within the continuing context of the Romanian authorities' active discouragement of emigration in principle. Those who apply for departure face a range of potential sanctions ranging from loss of jobs to eviction from housing and denial of access to health and educational facilities. Over the last year, however, the sanctions and other devices used by the authorities as disincentives for emigration have become somewhat less severe and less inhumane. Intending emigrants' complaints to the American Embassy about official harrassment have continued to decline. Reports of layoffs, demotions, and transfers to distant locations are still received, but less frequently than in recent years. Those who do complain about loss of jobs or active harrassment by the police appear mostly to have suffered this treatment in 1979 or 1980, when they first applied to emigrate. We believe that our cautions to Romanians not qualified to receive American visas may have resulted in a decline in new applications for emigration to the U.S., and that with fewer applications, the authorities have felt less inclined to harrass those who have applied.

The Romanian Government has respected its understandings with us to engage in bilateral discussions on emigration. We have had frequent private exchanges in Bucharest and Washington about problem cases and procedures.

I should also point out that the education tax problem is now well behind us, and we have had no indication that the Romanian Government is violating its undertakings not to apply the education tax provisions of Decree 402, through which emigrants would have had to pay in convertible currency the cost of their education beyond compulsory level. Thus, we have concerns about human rights in Romania, but we believe real progress has been made on emigration since the granting of MFN in 1975 and the underpinnings for further progress -- confident and candid bilateral dialogue -- have been firmly established.

Turning now to Hungary, it is clear that the U.S.-Hungarian relationship has continued to develop in a constructive and positive manner. While recognizing that we both have national interests and international responsibilities which often diverge, we nevertheless have successfully expanded a frank yet cordial and useful bilateral dialogue. This broad framework enables each side to better understand and appreciate the points of view and approaches which we each take to our national as well as our common interests and goals.

Among the issues which concern us here today, perhaps the most positive aspect is the responsible approach which the Government of Hungary takes in meeting its commitments regarding the emigration of its citizens. Hungarian law permits permanent departure rights only to those individuals over 55 years of age. However, in general practice, the government has granted the majority of the applications to emigrate from people under that age ceiling. As of this moment, the government has resolved all divided family cases: not one is outstanding.

Trade is an expanding cornerstone of our relations with Hungary; and MFN treatment, granted since 1978, has been an important factor in the growth of this sector.

Although Hungary had established certain import restrictions in 1982 on products from hard currency states because of serious balance of payments problems, the Hungarian Government has relaxed those restrictions and plans to eliminate them entirely by the end of this year.

We believe that the continuation of MFN treatment toward Hungary is fully justified by our national interests and by the present state of Hungary's performance under the criteria relevant to this procedure.

MFN has served the economic and political interests of the United States as well as Romania and Hungary. It has worked for the economic well-being of the Romanian and Hungarian people; it has stimulated freer emigration. The American people rightly look for respect for human rights in those nations with which we have friendly relations. MFN for Romania and Hungary has served that objective as well, and has worked to insure that our relations with those countries have a solid basis.

Senator DANFORTH. Mr. Brown, before you begin, Senator Heinz is here. He has a statement which he would like to read, and it will be included immediately after my statement and before Mr. Palmer's testimony.

Senator Heinz has another appointment which he must keep.

Senator HEINZ. Mr. Chairman, I thank you and our witnesses for their courtesy, and I would ask unanimous consent that my full statement be made a part of the record.

I just wanted to say, as a member of this committee and also as a member of the Helsinki Commission, that I feel very strongly that the Jackson-Vanik amendment has had a very positive impact on the lives of people in Hungary and Romania, and that our annual review has led to significant—if limited—improvements in the human rights area.

Two of the countries we are looking at specifically today are Hungary and Romania, and I would like to make a brief comment about each.

With regard to the former, Hungary, I think it is fair to say that for the second year in a row there are no unresolved family reunification cases between our two countries and that Hungary remains the nation in the East most tolerant—relatively speaking—of dissent. Therefore, I support the renewal of MFN status to Hungary for another year, in the hope and expectation that this good performance will continue.

Having said that, I would nonetheless point out that Hungarian emigration laws remain restrictive and that this may discourage some Hungarian citizens from applying to emigrate, or create new problem cases in the future.

Furthermore, I am disturbed by the continuation of harassment of certain Hungarian citizens who, in conformity with the Helsinki Final Act, speak out on human rights and other sensitive issues. And that harassment has taken the form of searches, fines, detentions, police reprimands, and in one case physical violence.

It would be a great pleasure, Mr. Chairman, to note at next year's MFN hearings that those particular problems have been favorably resolved.

As far as Romania is concerned, some progress has been made in the last year with respect, in particular, to the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany emigration. However, what positive developments there are, they take place, I must say, within a very grim context. Strong official opposition to any kind of emigration is manifested in restrictive emigration laws, regulations, and practices; prospective emigrants continue to face punitive sanctions both before and after they obtain passports, including dismissal from jobs, reduction of job status and wages, public denunciation, and danger of arrest and imprisonment. The majority of those who are permitted to emigrate endure months if not years of harassment and have to overcome countless procedural impediments before they receive permission to emigrate.

Romanian citizens who attempt to secure permission to marry a foreigner face an emotionally draining wait of 12 to 24 months—the longest in the Eastern bloc. And longstanding emigration cases, which enjoy the support of the United States and other governments, still remain unresolved.

The overall human rights situation in Romania must be characterized as "very bleak." On June 4, the State Department released the President's 16th semiannual report on Helsinki implementation, covering the period December 1, 1983, through March 31, 1984. The report stated that Romanian observance of the basic human rights, as distinct from emigration provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, has been poor. It indicated that the number of incidents of Government harassment of Protestants, particular Baptist pastors, substantially increased during the reporting period, and noted, "the publication by Government-supervised publishing houses of a number of anti-Semitic articles, poems, and a book."

Other troubling concerns brought to the attention both of the Helsinki Commission and of the Finance Committee include Romania's unresponsiveness to the cultural and educational needs of Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and other national minorities, and persecution of minority-rights activists.

Of particular concern to me is the welfare of many prisoners of conscience, such as Father Calciu, a dissenting orthodox priest imprisoned since 1979, and the death under highly questionable circumstances early this year of Father Geza Palfi, a Roman Catholic priest of Hungarian descent.

Only yesterday, the Helsinki Commission learned that two activist Baptist preachers from Medias—Beni Cocar and Ion Steff—have been called into court for "preaching without state permission."

Mr. Chairman, I realize that our deliberations today can't be divorced from our policies toward Eastern Europe as a whole. And while it is important to recognize Romania's occasional independence on certain foreign-policy issues, I believe our values compel us, and the Jackson-Vanik amendment commands us, to call Romania to account for its continuing violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Recently, at the Olympic games' opening ceremonies, those gathering in the stadium deservedly gave a warm reception to the athletes from Romania, the only Warsaw Pact nation not to join the Soviet boycott. But the stirring Olympic drama does not and should not draw our attention away from the desperate human dramas taking place back in Romania. The anguish of divided families, the persecution of rights activists, and the plight of political prisoners remain the deep and abiding concerns of this committee and of the Helsinki Commission.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, Senator Heinz.

Mr. Brown, thank you.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM A. BROWN, PRINCIPAL DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY, EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS BUREAU, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. BROWN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I also will underscore a few highlights and then submit my statement for the record, my full statement.

The development of strong, stable, and enduring relations with China has been a foreign policy objective for four consecutive administrations. President Reagan has reiterated that such a relationship is vital to our long-term national security interests and contributes to stability in East Asia.

Economic development has become China's top priority, and China has opened the door to foreign trade and investment. Accordingly, our bilateral economic relationship has moved to the forefront of our developing ties with China.

Bilateral trade has increased dramatically in recent years. Overall, China ranks 22d among our world trading partners, while we are China's third largest trading partner after Japan and Hong Kong. The United States stands as China's No. 1 source of foreign investment in equity joint ventures and commitments to explore for offshore oil and gas. The prospects are excellent that investment and trade opportunities for U.S firms will continue to expand as China seeks to develop foreign help in modernizing existing industries and developing new ones, in fields such as telecommunications, electronics, instrumentation, and electric power generation.

China's decision to speed up the pace of development by greater reliance on foreign goods and technology has been accompanied by some liberalization in the area of emigration. Travel restrictions have been relaxed and simplified for both emigrants and short-term travelers. There are currently more than 10,000 Chinese students and scholars in this country. In addition, last year some 11,000 business visas were issued to Chinese citizens. At the same time, our China posts—that is our two issuing posts on the main-land, Beijing and Guangzhou issued nearly 10,000 emigrant visas. There are over 60,000 with approved visa petitions awaiting their turn to emigrate to the United States, most of whom have close family members already living here.

China's commitment to more liberal emigration practices is reflected in the bilateral United States-China Consular Convention, which has been in effect for 2 years.

The principal obstacle to emigration from China remains the limited ability or willingness of other countries to receive the large numbers of people able and willing to emigrate. In the case of the United States, our numerical limitation on immigrants from each country cannot keep up with the Chinese demand. For example, applications for fifth preference immigration—that is, siblings of U.S. citizens—stretch back to 1979, implying at least a 5-year wait for applicants in this category.

Mr. Chairman, trade is a fundamental component of China's modernization effort and an avenue for China's further integration into the community of nations. China's advancement to a greater modernization and integration is clearly in the American interest, and MFN treatment contributes to this.

The administration strongly believes that the continuation of MFN status for China is vital to our foreign policy interests.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Mr. Brown's written testimony follows:]

TESTIMONY BY WILLIAM A. BROWN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BEFORE THE
INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE
SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE
AUGUST 8, 1984

Mr. Chairman:

I welcome this opportunity to testify before this subcommittee as part of an Administration panel concerning the extension of the President's general waiver authority under Section 402(c) of the Trade Act and the continuation of the specific waivers permitting most favored nation (MFN) treatment for China, Hungary, and Romania. My colleague, Mr. Palmer, has already addressed the waivers for Hungary and Romania. My testimony will address the waiver for China.

Development of strong, stable, and enduring relations with China has been a foreign policy objective of four consecutive Administrations. President Reagan has reiterated that "such a relationship is vital to our long-term national security interests and contributes to stability in East Asia." Economic development has become China's top priority, and China has opened the door to foreign trade and investment. Accordingly, our bilateral economic relationship has moved to the forefront of our developing ties with China. As this relationship has grown, disagreements have naturally arisen in some areas. We can expect that other problems will come up in a trading relationship which is dynamic and which involves two very different trade and legal systems. Nevertheless, we believe the prospects are good for further growth of our economic ties.

Bilateral trade has increased dramatically in recent years. Overall, China ranks 22nd among our world trading partners, while we are China's third largest trading partner, after Japan and Hong Kong. Last year, two-way trade totaled $4.4 billion, a four-fold increase over 1978 but 20 percent less than 1981's $5.5 billion. In most years, the US has maintained a trade surplus. Sales of US agricultural products declined last year, and we are concerned about the slow pace of Chinese grain purchases under the US-China Grain Agreement so far this year. At the same time, however, the volume of high-tech manufactured products exported to China has grown steadily, reflecting China's development needs and our own liberalized export guidelines. Last year, the dollar value of export licenses approved for high-technology shipments to China was about $1 billion, and will probably exceed $1.5 billion in 1984.

American business has not hesitated to take advantage of the opportunities for investment in China. The US stands as China's number one source of foreign investment in equity joint ventures and commitments to explore for offshore oil and gas.

Twenty US firms account for 25% of China's total direct foreign investment ($85 million out of $340 million). Twelve US. oil companies have made commitments to spend $500-600 million in exploring for oil off China's coast. U.S. firms are also expected to participate in a major coal mining project in China's Shanxi Province, which could involve U.S. equipment exports amounting to over $300 million. The prospects are excellent that investment and trade opportunities for U.S. firms will continue to expand as China seeks foreign help in modernizing existing industries and in developing new ones, in fields such as telecommunications, electronics, instrumentation, and electrical power generation.

The opportunities for US trade and investment with China are enhanced by the series of government-to-government economic agreements that we have concluded and will conclude with China. Agreements on trade, civil aviation, grain, textiles, and claims & assets, among others, now form the basis for the expansion of economic relations. Work programs under our Science and Technology Agreement and our Industrial and Technological Cooperation Accord contribute to China's development and create opportunities for American business. During President Reagan's visit to China in April, a new tax agreement was signed which will promote further commercial relationships with China. We will hold further discussions on an investment agreement with the Chinese.

As the economic relationship has grown, so have official and unofficial exchanges which promote stronger bilateral relations. For example, there are 21 US media organizations with offices in Beijing, nearly 200 US firms with offices in China, more than 80 US universities that maintain affiliations with about 120 Chinese schools, and more than 20 US states and cities that have sister relationships with their Chinese counterparts. At the same time, over 200 Chinese delegations visit the US each month, and American tourists to China numbered more than 168,000 last year.

China's decision to speed up the pace of development by greater reliance on foreign goods and technology has been accompanied by some liberalization in the area of emigration. Travel restrictions have been relaxed and simplified for both immigrants and short-term travelers. There are currently more than 10,000 Chinese students and scholars in this country. In addition, last year some 11,000 business visas were issued to Chinese citizens. At the same time, our China posts issued nearly 10,000 immigrant visas. There are over 60,000 Chinese with approved visa petitions waiting for their turn to immigrate to the US, most of whom have close family members already living here.

China's commitment to more liberal emigration practices is reflected in the bilateral US-China Consular Convention, which has been in effect for two years. In diplomatic notes accompanying the Convention, both sides agreed to facilitate travel for the purpose of family reunification and, also, to facilitate travel between the two countries of persons with simultaneous claims to the nationality of the US and of China.

This is not to say that Chinese emigration is problem-free. China, like many developing countries, is concerned about potential brain drain. Current Chinese regulations restrict foreign study by Chinese university students until they complete their Chinese education and work for two years. In addition, local work units may be slow to approve departure, and officials are sometimes reluctant to issue passports and exit permits to persons whose emigration might create gaps in modernization efforts. There is no evidence, however, of any policy aimed at inhibiting the emigration of those with legitimate family ties abroad, although many encounter bureaucratic delays in obtaining passports and exit permits.

The principal obstacle to emigration from China remains the limited ability or willingness of other countries to receive the large numbers of people able and willing to immigrate. In the case of the US, our numerical limitation on immigrants from each country cannot keep up with the Chinese demand. For example, applications for fifth preference immigration (siblings of US citizens) stretch back to 1979, implying at least a five-year wait for applicants in this category.

Trade is a fundamental component of China's modernization effort and an avenue for China's further integration into the community of nations. China's advancement toward greater modernization and integration is clearly in the American interest, and MFN treatment contributes to this. The Administration strongly believes that the continuation of MFN status for China is vital to our foreign policy interests.

Senator DANFORTH. Gentlemen, thank you very much.

Mr. Palmer, you and Mr. Brown made very similar points with respect to Romania and China; that is, that those countries are more willing to let people leave than we are to let people in. Do you have any recommendation to make in that respect?

Mr. PALMER. With regard to Romania, I think it is very important that we try to have the highest possible level of refugee numbers. There is an ongoing discussion about that within the administration and between the administration and the Congress.

From the point of view of my job and of the issue that we are addressing today, I think the level of refugee numbers is very important; otherwise, we are going to be in a situation in which we are pushing the Romanian Government to let people go, and we can't take people.

Senator DANFORTH. That would be a terrible situation. It would be a trap for the individuals involved, especially if they live in a country where they are treated differently once they apply for permission to leave. They are granted permission to leave in the hopes that they will be coming to the United States, and then we have restrictions which prevent them from leaving.

Mr. PALMER. It's a catch-22 situation, and we have been acutely aware of it. Therefore, as I mention in my statement, we have encouraged broadcasts by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe that people should first ascertain whether in fact they qualify for American immigration before they go to Romanian authorities and indicate that they want to leave; otherwise, as you eloquently noted, they are in trouble.

Senator DANFORTH. Well, shouldn't we be dealing with this question forthwith?

Mr. PALMER. We have been dealing with it. We are going to have to continue dealing with it. I am not sure what the time sequence is now in terms of the Hill's consideration of numbers for the next fiscal year, but we would be happy to work with your staff on that question.

Senator DANFORTH. Mr. Brown.

Mr. **Brown**. I have nothing really to add. I feel that, all things considered, I'm fairly comfortable with our position at this stage on the China issue.

Senator **Danforth**. Well, in Romania it is what? About a thousand, or more? Somewhere between 1,000 and 2,000 people who have been granted permission to leave, and they do not have a U.S. visa? Therefore, they, for all practical purposes, can't leave.

Mr. **Palmer**. Yes. We have 800 currently on the doorstep, but there are more coming, in addition to that.

Senator **Danforth**. What would be the number with respect to China? You say you have cases pending from 1979 who are siblings of U.S. citizens?

Mr. **Brown**. That is correct.

Senator **Danforth**. Is it just a very large number of people who would like to leave China?

Mr. **Brown**. Well, I would say that, matched against a population of 1.1 billion, it's not that pressing.

Senator **Danforth**. No, but I mean matched against the reasonable ability of the United States to accommodate them?

Mr. **Brown**. Certainly. And those people have been on the——

Senator **Danforth**. Is it a very large number?

Mr. **Brown**. Yes.

Senator **Danforth**. And it's one thing to change our numbers to accommodate, say, an additional 1,000 or 2,000 Romanians. I don't know the situation on China though. Is it 1,000 or 2,000?

Mr. **Brown**. I don't have the specific figure, Mr. Chairman. I'll get it for you.

[The information follows:]

There are over 60,000 Chinese citizens with approved U.S. visa petitions currently awaiting the availability of visas in order to emigrate to the United States.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you very much.

Mr. **Brown**. But it does stretch back into that category to 1979.

Senator **Danforth**. Do we have this problem with other countries as well? Or is this just Romania and China alone?

Mr. **Palmer**. In my area of the world, in Eastern Europe, it's most serious with Romania.

Senator **Danforth**. As far as people who want to leave, who have applied to leave, who have been granted permission to leave, and who have not been able to come here?

Mr. **Palmer**. Yes. We wish we had that problem with the Soviet Union, for example. There, of course, not many people are being allowed to leave, so we don't have the problem.

Senator **Danforth**. Yes.

Mr. **Palmer**. The numbers in the other countries—Poland, for example—we're able to manage.

Senator **Danforth**. So, as far as your area is concerned, Romania stands alone?

Mr. **Palmer**. Yes.

Senator **Danforth**. Senator Dole.

Senator **Dole**. No questions.

Senator **Danforth**. Gentlemen, thank you very much. The next witnesses are a panel: Holly Burkhalter, Washington representative, Helsinki Watch; Jack Spitzer, immediate past president, B'nai

B'rith International; Felice Gaer, executive director, International League of Human Rights; George Crisan, Romanian-Baptist Fellowship; and Joseph A. Torsani, Jr., vice president, Prudential Lines.

Senator **Dole**. Mr. Chairman, while they are gathering there, I do have a statement that I would like to put in the record. I am not going to read it, except to indicate that perhaps sometime we can take another look at the Jackson-Vanik amendment to see if we can improve on the tools available to us in fostering respect for human rights and better trade relations with the Eastern bloc and the Soviet Union.

It seems to me there are some indications that that provision may be counterproductive, so I would hope that is an area we might address some time in the future. And I would just ask that my statement be made a part of the record.

Senator **Danforth**. All right. Thank you.

Ms. Burkhalter.

STATEMENT OF HOLLY BURKHALTER, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, HELSINKI WATCH, NEW YORK, NY

Ms. **Burkhalter**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Helsinki Watch has prepared a large document that you probably have before you, and I am not going to take the committee's time to read through it. I will keep my testimony very short.

I wanted to thank you for holding the hearings and to reiterate our concern that the Congress retain this involvement.

We appreciate your yearly extensive oversight, and I think that the Congress' involvement has really played a very helpful role in improving human rights conditions. I think that it is very clear that the improvements that have been made in emigration are directly related to the involvement of the Congress. And I would express the hope that the Supreme Court decision will not diminish in any way the Congress' oversight role on most-favored-nation status on Romania.

I would just draw attention to the problem that others will also mention of some improvements being made right on the eve of the MFN review process, only to have them pulled back later. The Helsinki Watch was invited to visit Romania, which we had hoped to do for some time, just before the 1983 MFN process, and the Romanians asked us to withhold our human rights report until after the MFN process was completed. We went ahead and produced a report and testified before you last year. Shortly after the review process was over the invitation was revoked, and the Helsinki Watch has not been permitted to return, though we have asked to several times.

I think this points up the need for continued oversight, because it is just that oversight that really has had an effect on the increased numbers of potential emigrees as well as some other human rights issues, such as Mr. Heinz mentioned, the fact that the education tax has not been invoked.

I would just call your attention to some of the other items that we cover in the report you have before you and hope that the entire written report could be included with the written hearing record.

In addition to the emigration issue which has been discussed by the other witnesses, we also discuss freedom of religion, freedom of expression, workers' rights, political prisoners, minority rights, and threats to Romanian emigrants abroad.

I think, with that, I'll just conclude. Thank you again for having these hearings.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you very much.

Mr. Spitzer?

[Ms. Burkhalter's written testimony follows:]

HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA:
A REPORT PREPARED FOR
THE MOST FAVORED NATION HEARINGS
IN THE U.S. CONGRESS

I. INTRODUCTION

The Romanian government's relative independence in foreign policy matters is not paralleled by liberal domestic practices. To the contrary, internationally recognized human rights are severely abridged in Romania.

Romania is considered one of the most egregious offenders of human rights in Eastern Europe. Nicolae Ceausescu, President of Romania and General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, has created a repressive society that is virtually impenetrable and a personality cult that is omnipresent. Nor does Romania live up to its international commitments. Independent human rights monitoring groups are not permitted in Romania, and information is tightly controlled.

As is true in other East European countries, Romanian authorities are fearful of what has been termed the "Polish virus" and have effectively suppressed any form of organized dissent. According to one Romanian dissident, "Everyone talks, but nobody does anything. For even the smallest kind of opposition, you are arrested. Everyone is afraid. There is no martial law in Romania but we live as if we were under it."*

The Ceausescu regime orchestrates every aspect of

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*Quoted by Jeri Laber, Memo For The Record: Visit to Romania, October 1982.

Romanian society -- the flow of information, religious activities, cultural affairs, the unions, and foreign and domestic policies in general. An extensive network of security police, known as the Securitate, maintain tight control over the populace. The Securitate, which by some estimates is the largest per capita security police force anywhere, ensures that even slightest stirrings of organized opposition are crushed.

The rampant political and social problems that plague Romania, together with its severely deteriorating economy, make life in Romania increasingly difficult. In 1983, food prices shot up 35 percent. At the same time, according to the International Monetary Fund, the standard of living dropped considerably. All of this adds up to enormous hardships for Romanian citizens. (It is thus not surprising that a 1979 U.N. demographic study reported that Romania has one of Europe's highest suicide rates.)*

Romania, fraught with misery, injustice and corruption, is a far cry from President Ceausescu's workers' paradise. The harsh realities of Romanian life are causing more and more Romanian citizens to seek to emigrate. Emigration, in turn, is tied to the yearly Most-Favored-Nation hearings in the U.S. Congress which have become a forum at which human rights violations are exposed. Such exposure has caused the foundations of President Ceausescu's "liberal" facade to crumble. It remains to be seen whether the Romanian government will take real steps to alleviate the oppression of its citizens.

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*Juliana G. Pilon, "The Harsh Reality Behind Romania's Olympic Move," Wall Street Journal, June 4, 1984.

II. ROMANIA AND MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS

Romania was granted Most-Favored-Nation tariff status (MFN) by the United States in 1975. Romania and Hungary are presently the only Warsaw Pact nations that have this special status which means in essence that tariffs on imports from Romania and Hungary are the same as tariffs imposed on goods imported from our Western allies.

Section 402 of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the 1974 Trade Act directly links the preferential tariff policies of MFN to the emigration policies of the recipient country. The amendment was introduced in 1974 in a successful effort to prevent enforcement of a Soviet education tax. According to this amendment, countries that prevent emigration or tax their emigrants more than a "nominal sum" do not qualify for MFN.

Romania's MFN status is renewed annually. Each year, 30 days before the expiration of MFN, the President must certify to Congress that Romania is practicing a humanitarian emigration policy in order for MFN to continue. Congress may veto the President's recommendation for MFN by House Resolution. If the President recommends against MFN, Congress would have to enact special legislation to grant the status. In previous years the President and Congress have agreed that, despite Romania's poor emigration practices, continuation of MFN best serves humanitarian objectives in Romania, and they have voted to waive the Jackson-Vanik stipulation.

Although the Jackson-Vanik Amendment refers specifically to a country's emigration practices, the spirit of the amendment has been interpreted to include the human rights situation as a whole. The Congressional hearings for Romania have become a forum in which Romania's human rights record is reviewed. Eager to see MFN continue, Romania often makes concessions with regard to human rights during MFN review periods. Unfortunately, a pattern has developed in which Romania may make some small human rights gestures just before the MFN review period and then, after MFN is renewed, lapse back into its previous disregard for human rights and for any assurances it may have made to the U.S. government.

Last year's MFN hearings were held in the House of Representatives by the Subcommittee on Trade on July 14, 1983. Senate hearings were held by the Subcommittee on International Trade on August 29, 1983. During these hearings, members of Congress and of nongovernmental organizations criticized Romania's emigration and human rights record and called for credible assurances that Romania would improve its practices. Nevertheless, Congress affirmed President Reagan's recommendation that MFN be renewed for another year.

Several months before the 1983 MFN review, officials from the Romanian Embassy contacted officers of the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, inviting the Committee to send a fact-finding delegation to Romania and urging the Committee to withhold publication of a report on human rights in Romania. The Helsinki Watch issued the report and also testified at the Congressional MFN hearings, pointing to continuing violations of human rights in Romania. After the hearings, when the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee accepted the invitation to send a delegation to Romania in the spring of 1984, it was informed by the Romanian Embassy that it was no longer welcome. The Romanian government's refusal to follow through on its invitation to the Helsinki Watch Committee was raised during bilateral meetings between Romanian government officials and the U.S. State Department in February, 1984. However, despite repeated requests from the Helsinki Watch, no new invitation from the Romanian government has been forthcoming.

III. EMIGRATION

The Romanian government does not recognize the right of its citizens, guaranteed by the Helsinki Final Act, to live and leave as they choose. The government strongly opposes emigration, recognizing as the only grounds for emigration cases of family reunification. (Exceptions to this rule involve those who are deemed "undesirable" -- usually political dissidents or militant religious activists.)

Nevertheless, there are many thousands of requests to emigrate. Such requests constitute what appears to be the only large-scale independent activity carried on by Romanian citizens that the authorities have proved unable to halt.

Applicants for Emigration

Although the exact number of applicants for emigration is not known, it is apparent that, due to worsening economic and political conditions in Romania, the number of applicants for emigration continues to be very high. Applicants include not only persons seeking family reunification, but also those seeking religious, political, artistic and ethnic freedom. While we do not know the exact number of Romanians who have been refused permission to emigrate, there are some 10,000 registered under U.S. Embassy programs awaiting passports.

From 1977 to 1982, 62,500 ethnic Germans left Romania. The Jewish community, which was numbered over 400,000 after World War II, has dwindled to approximately 30,000.* Government figures indicate that the number of emigrants has doubled since 1972. According to the U.S. State Department, in 1983 alone, approximately 1,300 Romanians emigrated to Israel, 14,000 emigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany, and 3,400 emigrated to the United States. The numbers, however, do not tell the whole story. They do not reveal the continuing harassment and abuse of would-be emigrants, nor do they explain the factors which cause them to apply for permission to emigrate in the first place.

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*Juliana G. Pilon, op. cit.

For Romanian citizens, there are many obstacles along the road to emigration. The application process is long, complicated and arbitrary. Would-be emigrants are sometimes prevented from applying to emigrate for months or years on procedural grounds constructed by the state. More important, would-be emigrants face almost certain hardships: official harassment, public denunciation, demotion, loss of job, loss of housing, loss of public services and sometimes even arrest are among the risks. Delays of two to three years in obtaining a passport are not uncommon. Moreover, Helsinki Watch has received numerous reports of Romanians who have been trying to get permission to leave for substantially longer periods of time. Wilhelm Rausch, for example, a 45-year-old agricultural worker from Brasov, has been trying unsuccessfully to join his family in West Germany for the past 14 years.* His case is but one of hundreds of instances of extraordinary delays -- even for emigration on so-called "legitimate" grounds.

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*Information supplied by Ligue pour la Defense des Droits de l'Homme en Roumanie (LDHR), Paris, France, May 1984.

There are thousands of documented examples of unresolved family reunification cases. While it would be impossible to list them all, the following are illustrations of the problem:*

-- Michael and Adriana Lang (str. Plaveti 2, Timisoara), have sought permission to emigrate to West Germany to join their parents since 1976.

-- Frans Metzenrath (Nitzkydorf 117, Timis), has sought to emigrate to West Germany with his family since 1979. One of his sons lives there, and his wife is very ill.

-- Ieremia Trif and his family have sought to emigrate to the U.S. since 1976. His brother and brother-in-law are in the U.S., but his requests have been repeatedly rejected.

-- Matei Simionescu Ramniceanu and his family (str. Schitul Darvari 2, Bucharest), have sought to join their mother and sister in France since 1980. In the interim, they have been threatened by the authorities, and Metei's salary has been reduced. They are also having difficulties in obtaining a French visa.

-- Freidrich de Selimbar Schuller (str. 30 Decembrie 404, Jud. Sibiu), has sought since 1970 to join his father in West Germany. He and his family have been repeatedly refused permission.

-- Regina Grommes, 35-years-old, has sought to emigrate to West Germany to join her parents since 1974. Each of her 23 requests has been refused.

-- Barbara Muller, her mother Gertrude and her brother Michael Hellebrandt, all from Timisoara, have sought to join their family in West Germany since 1961. Gertrude managed to send a petition to President Ceausescu, and she was beaten in her factory immediately thereafter.

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*Information supplied by LDHR, op. cit.

> -- Gheorghe Nicolae and his family (str. Postavarului 19, Bucharest), have sought to leave for the U.S. to join their brother. They have submitted 65 requests, which have to date resulted only in threats of loss of work and imprisonment.

Reprisals and Sanctions Against Applicants

Romanian authorities employ a variety of measures to impede emigration -- some official, others unofficial. Sanctions are imposed on would-be emigrants both before and after they obtain their passports. Although it appears that the Education Tax Act of February 1983 is no longer being implemented, incidents of bribes and forced payments -- often in hard currency -- have been reported. Generally, however, the authorities rely on other methods to discourage emigration.

Would-be emigrants are often subjected to official harassment, which may include deprivation of employment and, thus, means of survival. After a person has been fired from his or her job, charges of "parasitical" or "anarchic" conduct can be brought under decree 153/1970. Conviction under this decree can result in six months' imprisonment or "corrective labor without deprivation of liberty." The latter penalty means that the person is assigned to a particular place of work, often far away from his or her home, with greatly reduced wages. In addition, he or she cannot leave the assigned area without permission from the local militia.

Instances of individuals sentenced to prison for their efforts to emigrate include the following:*

-- Paul and Polina Dragu, from Tirgu Jui, were sentenced to 6 and 4 months, respectively, in January 1983 after they and their daughters went on hunger strike in protest over official harassment and the government's refusal to allow them to emigrate.

-- 12 would-be emigrants were sentenced in July 1983 to three years' imprisonment by a court in Bucharest. They had allegedly written joint letters to the authorities protesting the fact that their applications for emigration had been rejected. They also applied to the Procurator's office for permission to hold a public demonstration in support of their demands. All 12 were convicted under Article 323 of the Romanian criminal code ot "association with intention to commit offence."

-- Mihai Baba, from Bucharest, was allegedly arrested and forcibly confined in a psychiatric unit of hospital No. 9 in Bercini on February 6, 1983, after he and four friends went on hunger strike in support of their demands to emigrate. It has been reported that they have since been allowed to emigrate.

The state punishes those who try to leave the country illegally under Article 245 of the Criminal Code -- "fraudulent crossing of the border" -- an offence punishable by imprisonment or corrective labor for periods from six months to three years. Amnesty International reported that two couples from Caransebes -- Luca and Varsavia Arnaut, and Nicolae and Maria Olaru -- were sentenced to 14 months' imprisonment for this offence last June.

There are many reported attempts to depart illegally, including:

-- Ilie Savu, a 32-year-old mechanic from Bucharest, had requested permission to join his brother in France, but received instead rejections and demotions at his job. He jumped from a tourist boat on the Danube and entered Yugoslavia. Before being extradicted to Romania, where he was immediately imprisoned, he had spent 25 days in prison in Yugoslavia. In Romania, he was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment. His lawyer was allowed to see him only in the courtroom.*

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*Amnesty International, Annual Report 1983, pp. 271-272.

-- Martial Deliman (Comlosul Mare 903, Timis), has sought to emigrate to the U.S. since 1979. He tried to cross the Yugoslav border but was arrested and sentenced to 1-1/2 years' imprisonment for illegal crossing of the border.

-- Ioan Tiberius Vladin and his mother are seeking permission to emigrate to join their family in the U.S. They were evicted from their home after Vladin's father illegally left the country.

-- Waldemar Fode (str. Mihai Viteazu 69, Brasov), disappeared after having tried to cross the border on May 31, 1980. As of this writing, there is no further information on his case.

In addition to specific reprisals against individuals who express a desire to emigrate, the authorities have devised yet another set of hurdles to discourage emigration: would-be emigrants must sell all real property at fixed, and substantially lower, government rates, and they are not permitted to take any funds out of the country. Romanian emigrants thus leave in an impoverished state. After months or years of harassment and abuse, the state takes away their material goods in exchange for permission to emigrate.

The cost of Romanian exit visas and passports remains high. A passport and exit visa together are 1,165 lei ($93.20), and the cost of extending the visa is 965 lei ($77.20). Renunciation of Romanian citizenship costs 3,000 lei ($240).*

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*North Atlantic Assembly, The Bulletin, No. 29, July-September 1983, p. 12.

If applicants, faced with all these obstacles to emigration, are unsuccessful in securing the necessary visas, they then face the dismal prospect of reintegration into Romanian society, in itself a discouragement to would-be applicants.

Problems in Entering the United States

Despite U.S. pressure on the Romanian government to allow free emigration, prospective emigrants are often hard-pressed to find a country that will accept them. U.S. immigration regulations make it impossible for all emigrants to be admitted to this country, and these regulations have gradually become stricter.

In the mid-1970s, a special Third Country Processing program (TCP) was started for Romania. Under this program, Romanians with exit visas who did not qualify for admission to the U.S. as immigrants were permitted to travel to Rome for processing as "refugees" by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. At the time there was no limit on refugee admissions to the United States. The 1980 Refugee Act, however, established a quota of 2,300 for Romanian TCP admissions in 1982, and of 1,200 to 1,300 for 1983. A huge backlog of cases has developed. Ultimately, in September 1982, the Third Country Processing program was suspended.

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*U.S. Department of State, Fifteenth Semiannual Report, Implementation of Helsinki Final Act, June 1, 1983-November 30, 1983, Washington D.C., Bureau of Public Affairs, p. 27.

The United States now operates on a quota system which cannot possibly accomodate the thousands of Romanian applicants. According to the State Department, from January to April, 1984, 133 immigrant visas to the United States were granted to Romanians, as compared to 149 over the same period in 1983. Of the TCP backlog cases, 1,235 were processed from January to April 1984, as compared to 555 over the same period in 1983. These cases all date back to before TCP was suspended.

IV. FREEDOM OF RELIGION

Church attendance in Romania is considered the largest in Eastern Europe after Poland and may very well reflect a disaffection from Party ideology. President Ceausescu has sought to capitalize on the fact that church attendance is high by claiming that this proves there is religious freedom in Romania. In fact, restrictions on religious freedom in Romania are among the most severe in all of Eastern Europe.

Of the 60 denominations that existed in Romania before World War II, only 14 are currently recognized by the government. Romanian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian, Baptist, Pentecostal, Seventh Day Adventist, Jewish and Muslim groups are among the officially recognized sects.*

State Control of Religious Activities

The government agency that monitors religious activity -- and reports directly to the Central Committee -- is known as the Department of Cults. This Department works closely with the Romanian secret police -- the infamous Securitate. The Department of Cults not only controls the activities of the recognized religions; it also effectively controls church finances, to the point of paying the salaries of the clergy. Since the churches are forced to rely on the state for financial survival, the regime maintains crucial financial leverage over them, thereby ensuring their docility and cooperation. This arrangement has resulted in instances of embezzlement of church funds by officials of the Department of Cults and by corrupt members of the clergy.

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*U.S. Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1983, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 1082.

The churches are manipulated to such an extent that some of the clergy are used as policemen by the regime. As an article in Freedom at Issue points out:

> Church leaders are utilized to police and discipline the rest of the clergy; they may unfrock or subject to appalling treatment any priest who dares to challenge the carefully constructed facade of church-state relations or criticize the subservience of the Orthodox hierarchy to the state. This has proved an effective deterrent.*

This forced collaboration helps President Ceausescu in his efforts to project an impression of religious freedom in Romania.

Not all the clergy have been "co-opted" by the state, however. Indeed, many of Romania's most famous and outspoken dissidents come from the ranks of the clergy. Many of these individuals have also received the harshest punishments, including the following two celebrated cases:

> -- Father Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa is considered to be Romania's most important dissident. An Orthodox lecturer, he gained international attention as a crusader for religious rights. In 1978, he was dismissed from the seminary where he lectured for denouncing atheism, materialism and the demolition of churches. On March 10, 1979, Father Calciu was arrested and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, apparently for his

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*Janice A. Broun, "Religion in Romania: The Truth behind the Image," Freedom at Issue, March-April, 1984, p. 12.

support of the free trade union, SLOMR, and the Romanian Christian Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Religion and Conscience, ALRC, a renewal movement within the Orthodox Church. The charges against him were never made public. Clearly, the regime felt threatened by his influence and his criticism of religious conditions in Romania. It has been reported that Calciu's wife has been allowed to visit him in prison recently, but she has given only brief accounts of his condition. Rumors have been circulating concerning an amnesty for Calciu this summer, but nothing has been confirmed.

-- Traian Dorz is a 70-year-old writer, poet, hymn-composer and popular figure in Romania. As a leader of the banned Army of the Lord, his works are banned in Romania. He has spent a total of 17 years in prison, his last arrest being in 1982 when he was imprisoned for possession of "illegal contraband" -- copies of his Christian songbook for children. He was released after six months due to extremely poor health. Dorz is now under constant police surveillance and cannot leave the town of Mizies.*

Officially, Romania is an atheistic state. Religious observance is actively discouraged and is actually forbidden for Party members. The regime considers even the most important religious holidays -- Christmas, for example -- working days like any other. If, as many believe, the campaign against religion has intensified over the past year, it is due to the fact that the state fears the mounting evidence that young people are being drawn in growing numbers to the church -- notably the Baptist, Pentecostalist and Adventist Churches. It is likely that young people are attracted to these churches for the very reason that the authorities fear them -- for their independence as opposed to the "regime-accomodating" Romanian Orthodox Church. This situation has given rise to a drive by

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*Christian Response International, Pray For Traian, Rockville, Maryland.

President Ceaucescu for more effective atheistic instruction in the schools.*

Religious instruction is strongly discouraged in Romania, and the role of priests and pastors is strictly defined. Only the Department of Cults is authorized to print and distribute Bibles, and it does so in very inadequate numbers. The result is that religious literature is virtually inaccessible to believers in Romania. Distribution of such literature by unauthorized individuals is punishable by severe prison terms.

The government's tight control over the distribution of religious materials has led to a number of cases of "Bible-smuggling." Those arrested for this offence are imprisoned for violating official restrictions. For example:

-- Dr. Silvia Cioata is a preacher of Brethren Church and a member of the Romanian Christian Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Religion and Conscience (ALRC). In March 1983, a court in Ploiesti sentenced Cioata and seven others to five to six years' imprisonment for having violated customs and press laws by distributing Bibles smuggled into the country. All eight were released in August 1983.

-- Piru Virgil, Ioan Viasu and Stan Apostol, the Captain and crew members of a Romanian commercial vessel, were arrested for bringing "illegal" Christian literature into the country. The Captain, Piru Virgil, is serving a seven-year sentence. The crew members were released in July 1982.

-- Maria Delapeta and her sister Fibia, 25 and 28 years old, respectively; Father Andrei Bach, minister at Sighisoara; Alexandru Pop and Augustin Pop, 34 and 22 years old, respectively, from Cluj; V. Roseanu from Sibit; Lucian Rus from Alba Iulia; Constantin Caraman, 71, a Pentecostal;

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*Eric Bourne, "Romania Tightens Grip on Churches Despite New US Trade Status," The Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 13, 1983.

> Daniel and Mircea Chibici, and Pere Sinitean from Beius, Baptist; and Nicolae Moldoveanu -- these are but a few of the many people who have been arrested for distributing religious literature.

In the fall of 1982, 66 Baptist ministers petitioned President Ceausescu for permission to print and import Bibles, to train more ministers and to manage church funds without state control.* By Western standards, these were hardly unreasonable requests, yet the Department of Cults denounced the petition as an antistate provocation. No formal reply was ever issued.

The Recognized Churches

The Romanian Orthodox Church does not suffer from the sort of persecution that the state inflicts on other denominations. This is due, in part, to its traditional role throughout Romanian history, but mainly to the accomodations it has made to the regime. The Orthodox Church has by far the largest following in Romania, with approximately 16 million members or 70 percent of the population.** It avoids confrontations with the government over religious autonomy, often at the expense of its members. The church's ties with both the Department of Cults and the Securitate are a measure of its lack of independence with regard to religious affairs.

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*Eric Bourne, *op. cit.*

**Vladimir Socor, "Romania: Conformism and New Ferment," *Radio Free Europe Research*, June 1984, p. 33.

The Roman Catholic Church is officially recognized by the state and has some 1,200,000 members, largely ethnic Hungarians and Germans.* A major factor in the continued strength of these congregations is their ethnic identities, for religious observance and ethnic identity have become almost inextricably intertwined.

The following is an example of the persecution of Roman Catholics by the authorities:

> -- Peter Nastase and his family are Catholics and have been subjected to growing official harassment because of their attempts to emigrate for religious reasons. Mr. Nastase has already served two prison terms for religious activities, although he was charged under political articles of the criminal code. Their telephone was disconnected last summer, and their house is under constant surveillance. Recent, unconfirmed reports indicate that Mr. Nastase has been arrested and his wife interned in a psychiatric hospital. For the past two years, the couple has been denied work, existing on the charity of the Catholic community.**

Perhaps the largest minority church in Romania is the Reformed Church in Transylvania, composed principally of ethnic Hungarians and officially numbered at 700,000. Other estimates, however, indicate that the number is closer to one million.*** Like the Roman Catholics, ethnic identity plays a large part in the Reformed Church.

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*Ibid, p. 35.

**North Atlantic Assembly, op. cit., p. 5.

***Ibid, p. 4.

The following are illustrations of persecution of members of the minority churches:

> -- Minister Laszlo Tokes is the son of Dr. Istvan Tokes, who was involved with a Hungarian samizdat publication that discussed the problem of minority churches. First the father and then the son were subjected to official harassment. Minister Tokes has been transferred out of Transylvania.
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> -- Fr. Gaza Palfi, 43, a Hungarian priest who worked in Odorhei, Transylvania, was allegedly murdered by the Security police. Fr. Palfi gave a sermon at a midnight mass on Christmas eve opposing the government's decision to declare Christmas a work day. He reminded his congregation that in Hungary, Christmas was an official holiday. The following day, he was arrested and severely beaten, particularly around his liver. He was taken to a clinic in Tigru-Mures, where he died two months later in late February after not responding to treatment. The autopsy was not made public, and the death certificate stated that he died of liver cancer. Two hundred and six priests gathered in protest at his funeral.*

The Evangelical Christian churches -- Baptists, Pentecostalists and Seventh Day Adventists -- have been singled out among the recognized religions for especially harsh treatment, although the situation of the Baptists has been improving recently. Church buildings have been demolished for exceeding the dimensions set forth in the building permit by as little as one meter, or for other petty infractions. Families have been evicted from their homes for holding "unauthorized" or "illegal" services.** Entire congregations have been fined, and religious activists have been imprisoned.

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*Le Monde, May 9, 1984; La Croix, May 4, 1984; Du Matin, May 6, 1984; Reforme, May 12, 1984.

**Country Reports, op. cit., p. 1082.

-- Pastor Nicolae Gheorghita of the Second Baptist Church in Oradea, has been under house arrest and is under constant surveillance. As his identification papers have been confiscated, he is in danger of being stopped if he goes out. His state licence to preach was taken away, so he is also in danger of being arrested for "parasitism" as he is unemployed.*

-- Dr. Lucian Turlea and his family have sought to leave Romania for several years. At the beginning of 1983, they were summoned and told to pay $20,000 for Turlea's education, which gave them no choice but to remain in Romania. As a Seventh Day Adventist, Turlea cannot work on Saturdays. He therefore receives only two thirds of his salary and works every Sunday. He was reported to have begun a hunger strike.**

The Turlea family was issued passports in June 1984, and Dr. Turlea subsequently lost his citizenship, his job and his home. Their situation is reported to be desperate.***

Despite persecution, these denominations have witnessed substantial increases in membership over the past few years. They have been actively involved in proselytzing and in distributing religious literature. Accordingly, they have had to cope with nearly constant pressure and harassment from the authorities.

It has been reported that in September, four Baptists -- Dinu Gadea, Corneliu Refec, Ovidiu Podbosrschi and Petru Marianec -- were arrested and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment after a poster campaign calling on the government to stop repression and enter into dialogue with the Baptists. The four were signatories of a petition to the Baptist Union of Romania (March 2, 1983) in which they asked the Church representatives to support attempts to reform the League of Young Baptists which was dissolved in 1950. They and others announced that if this was not possible, they intended to form an independent youth organization. They ultimately formed the Organizational Committee of the League of Young Baptists, calling for

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*Index on Censorship, June 1984, p. 48.

**LDHR.

***Information supplied by the Committee of Concerned Scientists.

> theological education at the university level, an independent press organ, organizations to provide legal aid for persecuted Baptists and for prisoners, and the right to regular religious broadcasts on radio and television. Apparently all signatories of this document were arrested and threatened with prison unless they renounced their demands.*

There have been some recent positive developments in the situation of the Baptists, due in part to their growing membership (now estimated at some 300,000, and therefore the largest Baptist following in Eastern Europe). Evidence of this change was long overdue Baptist Congress which took place on April 12, 1984, in Bucharest. Surprisingly enough, the regime-accomodating President and General Secretary of the Baptists Union were replaced by two apparently independent men, Rev. Mihai Husan, from Cluj, as President and Dr. Vasil Talpos, from Bucharest, as General Secretary. The officers were installed at a service on May 27 at a church in Bucharest.

In addition, the Baptists have been assured by the government that their seminary will remain open, and that new students will be allowed to enter. They have also received assurances that the Baptist church in Bucharest, Mihai Bravu, will be permitted to expand.

Since the state maintains rigid controls over the precise number of clergy that may be trained, these promises are somewhat reassuring. In 1983, the Baptist Church, which has over a thousand congregations and an annual growth rate of 13 percent,* had a mere five students in its seminaries with no new students having been admitted in two years, despite the fact that 100 of its 174 pastors are due to retire before 1990. (The Pentecostal Church has only six students. The number of churches, priests and students of the Orthodox church, on the other hand, has remained constant.)**

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*North Atlantic Assembly, op. cit., p. 4-5.

These developments with regard to the Baptist Church may, of course, be linked to the Most-Favored-Nation hearings in the U.S. Congress. The Romanians have an interest in appeasing the Baptist lobby. Nevertheless, any improvements should be applauded and encouraged.

The situation of the Jews caused concern during the past year, when several articles with anti-Semitic passages appeared in the Romanian press and a book of poetry was published which included anti-Semitic sentiments. The book of poetry, written by Corneliu Valerian Tudor, described Jews as "thieves and corrupters, people with no conscience and no sense of loyalty, who have no patriotic links whatsoever to their country and only think of how to exploit it."***

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*Broun, op. cit., p. 12.

**Country Reports, op. cit., p. 1082.

***Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Daily News Bulletin, No. 89. May 10, 1984.

Given the fact that all publications are controlled by the government, it is inconceivable that these were printed without the knowledge and consent of the state. Groups in the United States and elsewhere expressed concern, but the incident was essentially glossed over by all parties concerned -- including the Israeli government, which enjoys good relations with the Romanians. (Romania is the only Eastern bloc country that maintains diplomatic relations with Israel.)

On the other hand, the Romanian government allowed a Jewish conference to take place in Bucharest in early June 1984 in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the deportation of Jews from Transylvania. Such eminent American Jewish leaders as writer Elie Wiesel and World Jewish Congress Executive Director Israel Singer attended, as well as several Israeli officials who brought messages from Yitzhak Shamir and Shimon Peres. Rabbi Moses Rosen, the Chief Rabbi of Romania, reported to the conference that the situation of Jews has "considerably improved."*

Rabbi Rosen also stated that President Ceausescu had assured him that such anti-Semitic attacks would not recur. President Ceausescu had not tried to deny the anti-Semitic nature of the attacks. He said that the author of the book,

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*Jewish Telegraphic Agency, op. cit., June 20, 1984.

Mr. Tudor, was being reprimanded "within the Party framework as was the editor in charge of the book's publication." President Ceausescu insisted that the publication of the book and the articles was an "accident."[*]

Non-recognized Sects

As bad as things may be for the recognized churches in Romania, they are far worse for those who belong to the non-recognized denominations. Two major churches -- the Uniate Church and the Army of the Lord -- are officially banned. Other banned groups include smaller sects such as the Jehovahs Witnesses, Mormons and Christian Scientists. Unlike the recognized sects, the nonrecognized faiths are not allowed to hold services and are subject to severe penalties if they do.[**] "Illegal" services are suppressed whenever possible by the regime.

It is estimated that 10 percent of Romanian believers have been "unchurched" by the government. The Uniate Church, for example, had a membership of 1,700,000 when the Communists took power in Romania. In 1948, it was "re-integrated" into the National Orthodox Church. The Army of the Lord, an evangelical revival movement within the Orthodox Church that has approximately 500,000 followers, has been officially banned. Both of these sects are known to have secret priests and hold secret services.*

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[*] Jewish Telegraphic Agency, op. cit., May 10, 1984.

[**] Country Reports, op. cit., p. 1082.

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*Broun, op. cit., p. 11.

V. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

The Ceausescu regime closely monitors and tightly controls all forms of expression in Romania, including the spoken word, the mails, the press, and contact with foreigners.

Publications

The Council for Culture and Education is the Romanian office for book censorship.* Books that are deemed critical of certain aspects of Romanian life never reach the printing press. The works of some of the best known Romanian writers, artists and musicians can be found only on the black market, imported from abroad. An example is Eugene Ionesco who, despite his international reputation, has barely been heard of in his native land.

Publications are controlled so effectively by the government that Romania appears to be one of the very few East European countries in which _samizdat_ periodicals are virtually nonexistent. A dramatic illustration of the regime's fear of "unofficial" literature is an April 1983 decree that requires all typewriters and typefaces to be registered with the police, a decree designed to prevent the writing or duplicating of _samizdat_ literature.

Western publications are generally not available to the Romanian public. All USIA publications are reviewed by the

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*George Stanica, "Buried Alive," _Index on Censorship_, February 1984, p. 33.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs before they are distributed. On the other hand, Romania does not jam the Voice of America or Radio Free Europe, radio stations that are often jammed by other East European governments.* (For a discussion of the government's control over religious literature, see religion, p. 20.)

Cultural Activities

Independent cultural activities and artistic expression are strongly discouraged. Instead, the state encourages a mass culture that is intended to promote the interests of the political system. Art is seen as an instrument of propaganda. In President Ceausescu's words:

> Art must serve Communist education, it must reflect what is good and full of dignity in our society, it must exalt patriotic feelings, sing of the glorious past of our country, drink from the springs of its own traditions and not the poisoned wells of foreign decadence.**

Among Romanian intellectuals there are a few, isolated voices that have spoken out in protest. The poet Dorin Tudoran, for example, has expressed his fear that, because of the state's suppression of independent culture, Romania may lose its status as a European nation. In a land where cultural freedom is considered ideologically and economically frivolous, the struggle for cultural independence is unlikely to gain much momentum. As George Stanica, a Romanian teacher, wrote:

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*Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, op. cit., p. 32.

**Quoted by George Stanica, op. cit., p. 33.

> It is difficult to spot the intellectual among the new social strata -- bureaucrats and technocrats, or doctors enriched by bribery. As powerless as Kafka's insect, the intellectual is denied any leading position within the system as he does not belong to the social base but is part of the superstructure. For the same reason a teacher, a musician performing in a philharmonic orchestra, a writer or a painter will earn perhaps half the wages of a skilled welder. Intellectuals are 'unproductive', producing abstractions, theories, sounds, images that cannot be eaten, ideas that cannot be exported in exchange for foreign currency. Moreover, some of them dare to think otherwise than is laid down by the general line of the Party, or in contradiction to the guidelines of its General Secretary....All who dare think otherwise are considered immature, mentally disturbed, stray dogs, enemies of the working class... But the majority of intellectuals are meek, docile, humble -- probably the most obedient in the whole Eastern bloc.*

The official cultural policy in Romania is embodied in a festival known as "Singing Romania."** By all accounts, this festival is a mockery of culture, a degrading and amateurish spectacle designed to promote socialist realism.

In the past few years, the state has closed a number of cultural and scientific institutions. The Institutes of Mathematics, Chemistry and History are among the now defunct institutions.

Contacts Abroad

Citizens who have attempted to organize monitoring groups in Romania or to gather and disseminate to the West information on human rights violations have been exiled or imprisoned.

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*_Ibid_, p. 32.

**Speech by Sanda Stolojan at International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights Conference, LDHR, March 1984.

Efforts to form a Helsinki group in 1977 by the writer Paul Goma, for example, ended in his expulsion from Romania and the arrest and imprisonment of his associates.

The Romanian security police actively discourage contact with Westerners and even with other East Europeans, especially Hungarians. London Sunday Times reporter Michael Dobbs gave a humorous account of his 10-day trip to Romania in 1980, where he calculated that at least 150 plainclothesmen and 75 cars, with back-up from uniformed militia, were employed to keep track of his movements.

Romanians who have sent petitions to the West, in particular to the Helsinki review talks in Belgrade and Madrid, have been detained, interrogated, imprisoned, and exiled. International telephone calls are also closely monitored, and mail between Romania and the West is confiscated, read, and sometimes destroyed. In 1982, the Romanian government initiated a tax equivalent to 20 percent of an average monthly salary on citizens' telephone bills when more than one call was made to a destination outside Romania.*

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*U.S. Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 986.

VI. WORKERS RIGHTS

The Ceausescu regime boasts of full employment, full housing and contented workers. In reality, however, working conditions and the rights of workers are quite pitiable in Romania.

Article 27 of the Romanian Constitution guarantees the right to associate in trade unions, but Article 7 restricts such associations by establishing that the "leading political force in society is the Romanian Communist Party." Section 164 of the Labor Code states that offficial General Trade Union Confederation bylaws are the only legitimate basis for all trade union activity. (Romanian law does not mention strikes, since presumably they would not occur in a socialist state.)*

Labor Unrest

In August 1977, 35,000 coal miners went on strike in the Jiu Valley, site of Romania's largest coalfield. They were protesting insufficient food, poor housing conditions, unpaid overtime, and a new, unsatisfactory pension law. President Ceausescu himself went to the Jiu Valley, where he met with a hostile reception. He promised that no reprisals would be taken against the strikers, and that immediate improvements would be made with regard to providing food, a shorter work week, and improved housing.

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*Adrian Karatnycky, Alexander J. Motyl, Adolph Sturmthal, Workers Rights, East and West. New York: Transaction Books, 1980, pp. 78-79, 81-82.

Despite President Ceausescu's promise, the area was surrounded by Securitate troops and declared off limits. At least 4,000 miners were dismissed from their jobs or transferred to other mines. Some were put into a work camp on the Danube-Black Sea Canal. Members of a 20-person delegation that presented grievances to the Central Committee in Bucharest were arrested after they returned to the Jiu Valley. They were demoted, sent without trial to work in other districts, and put under police surveillance.

Two strike leaders, Ian Dobre and an engineer named Jurica, died shortly after the strike under circumstances that were never thoroughly investigated by the police. The Paris-based League for the Defense of Human Rights in Romania reports that 25 miners from the 1977 Jiu Valley strike, including the two workers mentionned above, have died or disappeared.

Not much is known about another subsequent miners' strike in the Motru region of Banat that took place in the spring of 1981. The area was said to be sealed off, and repression of workers was reportedly brutal. There are unconfirmed reports that two strike leaders were abducted and murdered.

There are other unconfirmed reports about the disappearances of workers in Romania. According to the State Department, reports of politically motivated disappearances in Romania have occasionally appeared in the West. Such reports, however, have neither been confirmed nor refuted by the Romanian authorities, who have discouraged all efforts to investigate them.*

The Washington Post reported in November 1983 that Titus Costache, the director of Romania's largest coal mining operation (the Lupeni mine), claimed that the conditions that provoke strikes were "inconceivable" in Romania:

> As a measure of Romania's regard for workers' rights, Lupeni mine union president Aurel Anghelus, asked if the current miners' contract contains the right to strike, said: "I can't understand the need for a rights to strike if all conditions are fulfilled." But what if they aren't? "Such a situation," replied the union official, "is inconceivable."**

Free Trade Union Organizing

In March 1979, a group of intellectuals and workers formed the Free Trade Union of Workers in Romania, known as SLOMR. The SLOMR founding document was signed by 20 individuals, including 16 workers from Turnu-Severin. It asserted the right to form free trade unions guaranteed under Article 22 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and Article 8 of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights signed by the Romanian government in 1974. The SLOMR document stated that unemployment in Romania was widespread, and asked for the lowering of work quotas, provision of food, safety precautions and adequate working conditions, and an end to unpaid compulsory "patriotic" work.

SLOMR eventually attracted some 2,000 supporters. These included about 1,500 workers from Tirgu Mures, an industrial city chiefly populated by Hungarians, where a clandestine free trade union movement had been founded in 1978 by workers, peasants, and soldiers.

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*Country Reports for 1982, op. cit., p. 983.

**Bradley Graham, "Climate of Intimidation Is Evident in Romania," The Washington Post, November 24, 1983.

The Romanian authorities rapidly suppressed the fledgling labor movement.

> -- Dr. Iona Cana, the founder, was sentenced to 5-1/2 years imprisonment for "conspiracy and anti-government propaganda." Cana was eventually amnestied, but his request to emigrate has not been granted.
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> -- By the end of April 1979, 15 SLOMR workers were given prison sentences from three to six months under Decree No. 153 which prohibits "parasitism."
>
> -- Carmen Popsecu, 40, co-founder of SLOMR, was imprisoned and released, then re-arrested in 1981 and sentenced to six years imprisonment. She is still in prison and is in bad health.
>
> -- Vasile Paraschiv, a chemical worker from Ploiesti, was detained and beaten in Bucharest in February 1979 for his support of SLOMR. Paraschiv had previously been interned three times in psychiatric hospitals for political reasons. In 1978 he had spent six months in France, where he held press conferences about his experiences of psychiatric abuse. After the break-up of SLOMR, Paraschiv disappeared for some time, and when he was seen in 1982, he appeared to have been the victim of police brutality. He and his wife are seeking exit visas.

New Labor Legislation

The sad plight of Romanian workers is illustrated by a recent labor law, known as the "Global Agreement,"* which was enacted on September 1, 1983. This law, in effect, has eliminated a minimum wage for Romanian workers. Workers are no longer entitled to fixed and guaranteed wages, but must sign a contract which amounts to a pledge of productivity. If a worker is deemed to have reneged on his or her contract, the pledge itself is used as the legal grounds for punishment. Workers' salaries are tied to the enterprise's production; accordingly, salaries are decreased if the enterprise's production figures are not met.

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*LDHR, from IHF conference.

In addition, a five-year training period has been instituted. During this time, the worker is considered an "associate" (what some have called "second-class") employee with only limited rights.* Among other things, an associate worker receives only half of his or her salary, while the other half is deposited in a state savings bank -- without interest. If the worker leaves the enterprise to which he or she has been assigned before the end of the five-year period, he or she loses the withheld money.**

Agricultural workers' rights are affected by a program announced on January 16, 1984, which is designed to offset the inefficiency of the socialized agricultural sector by squeezing private agriculture. Private agriculture, consisting of private plots of land that belong to members of agricultural cooperatives and to private farmers, has long supplied the country with significant quantities of food, accounting for a large proportion of Romania's total national production. The new program requires every private plot to produce strictly specified minimum quotas of agricultural products. While these quotas are replacing the previous system of compulsory delivery to the state, failure to comply with them will result either in the loss of ownership of the land, or in its transfer to the socialized sector.* In all likelihood, this program will cause a drop in private production, which, in turn, will increase the already serious food shortages that have existed in Romania for the last several years.

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*Help & Action Newsletter, November-December 1983.

**North Atlantic Assembly, p. 17.

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*Paul Gafton and Patrick Moore, "Milking Private Agriculture," Radio Free Europe Research, January 30, 1984.

VII. POLITICAL PRISONERS

The number of political prisoners in Romania is not known. Although many of those who are incarcerated are being punished for seeking to leave Romania illegally or for protesting the denial of exit permission, others have been imprisoned because of their religious or human rights activities. While information is scarce, there is reason to believe that forcible confinement in psychiatric hospitals is frequently used to punish people for the legitimate exercise ot their rights.

Romanian law does not provide for habeas corpus or the rights to counsel. The concept of due process does not exist, and individuals may be detained without charges for periods ranging from two to four days, with no legal recourse. When people are summoned or taken to the local security offices, they are often subjected to long periods of interrogation under rigorous conditions, threatened with a variety of penalities, and sometimes physically abused.

The judiciary is subordinate to the Party and the government. Trials may legally be held behind closed doors -- a practice used most often when a trial is likely to attract undue attention and the Ceausescu regime wishes to prevent foreign observers and diplomats from attending.*

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*Country Reports for 1983, op. cit., p. 1080.

Reports of poor prison conditions -- inadequate food and medical care, overcrowding, unsanitary conditions and long working hours -- are frequent.

Abuse of Former Political Prisoners

The Securitate has been engaged in a campaign of repression and intimidation against former political prisoners, often involving repeated and prolonged interrogations, threats, isolation, surveillance and physical abuse. The campaign appears to be aimed at preventing former political prisoners from creating any form of organized resistance.* Most of these former prisoners have been persecuted since their release from prison in the 1960s and, due to years spent under the deplorable conditions of Romanian prisons or camps, are now old and ill. They barely manage to maintain a subsistance level existence. Nonetheless, the regime singles them out for this harsh treatment.

On February 15, 1979, four such former prisoners sent an open letter to President Ceausescu demanding rehabilitation and an end to police persecution. In addition, they asked that they be allowed to pursue their professional careers and not be forced into menial jobs.**

Among such former political prisoners are:

-- Aurel State, professor, 12 years imprisonment in the USSR, liberated in 1955 and returned to Romania. Arrested in 1958 by the Securitate, he tried to commit suicide by jumping from the roof of the Uranus prison in Bucharest and sustained multiple fractures. Since his release in 1964, he has been under constant police surveillance and subjected to numerous searches, detentions and interrogations. He was severely beaten in a March 1983 interrogation.

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*North Atlantic Assembly, p. 17.

**LDHR.

-- Florin Fonea, former officer, retired technician. Detained in the "camp of death" of the Danube-Black Sea Canal from 1949-1954. Imprisoned again from 1958-1964. He suffers from a severe heart condition. In March 1983, he was hospitalized, after allegedly being tortured during an interrogation.

-- Dumitru Mircescu, retired worker, spent 10 years in a camp in Siberia from 1937-1947. After his return to Romania in 1949, he was put under strict surveillance by the Securitate. In 1980, at his request, several parts of his memoirs about the camps in Siberia were distributed in the West. Since then, he has been constantly harassed by the Securitate -- beaten and threatened with various charges. He was violently beaten by the Securitate during the summer of 1983.

-- Marcel Petrisor, a writer who spent 12 years in prison before 1964; Petre Tutea, a philosopher and essayist who spent 18 years in prison before 1964; and Vlad Dragoescu, a doctor, have been harassed by the Securitate with searches, interrogations, detentions and the like.

VIII. MINORITY RIGHTS

Romania is a country of about 21 million people in which ethnic minorities constitute 12 percent of the population. Romania is second only to the Soviet Union in the percentage of minority groups that make up its population. The largest minority is Hungarian, officially tabulated at 1.7 million people, but closer to 2.5 million, according to emigre sources. In addition to Hungarians, Romania has a large number of ethnic Germans, Bohemians, Gypsies and numerous smaller groups.

The Romanian Constitution and legislation provide for minority rights, and there is a wealth of regulations stipulating the use of minority languages in the courts, the proportion of deputies in the Grand National Assembly and so on. But public statements provide a clue to the authorities' real attitude toward the national minorities:

> Our party and state are faced with the duty to take conscientious action to provide every one of our citizens with the sort of conditions, under which the nation and the nationalities can fulfill themselves and, at the same time, make it possible for national differences to diminish and gradually to disappear under communism...*

The minority groups in Romania often say that they live under a double burden: the burden of repression in a totalitarian state, and the burden of discrimination stemming from Romanian chauvinism and "romanianization."

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*George Schopflin, The Hungarians of Romania, Minority Rights Group, August 1978, p. 10.

"Romanianization"

The minority question in Romania is as delicate as it is important. The drive for "Romanianization", i.e., the forced assimilation of minority groups into the Romanian population, has caused serious concern to those who try to retain their ethnic heritage and identity. Incidents of discrimination and persecution against minorities --particularly the Hungarians -- are constantly being reported.

Hungarian Minority

The Hungarian minority, centered mainly in the section of Romania known as Transylvania, claims that the Ceausescu regime is engaged in a deliberate policy of cultural extinction, or "cultural genocide." Hungarian schools, churches, traditions, activists, and even the Hungarian language are being systematically eliminated from Romanian society. The forced assimilation to which the ethnic Hungarians are being subjected increasingly takes the form of discriminatory and sometimes brutal practices.

The treatment of the Hungarian minority is sometimes a source of friction between the Hungarian and Romanian governments. The Hungarian party paper Nepszabadsag has even satirized Romania's minority policy,* a hint of the underlying tension that this issue is causing between the two countries.

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*Eric Bourne, "Two East-bloc Allies at Odds over Ethnic Rights in Transylvania," The Christian Science Monitor, March 13, 1984.

As distinct from other minority groups, emigration for the Hungarians is tantamount to surrendering their ties with and territorial claims to Transylvania. Hegemony over Transylvania has historically been disputed by Hungary and Romania.

Governmental repression of the Hungarian minority has recently accelerated. The London Times reported on June 6 that a new, discriminatory decree has been passed designed to limit the number of Hungarian speaking students at the University of Cluj to 5 percent. Prior to this decree, Hungarian students made up 65 percent of the student body.[*] The government has also decreed that all geography and history teachers in all schools in Transylvania must be Romanians.[**]

Despite official pressure, an underground Hungarian samizdat publication, Ellenpontok (Counterpoints), managed to appear regularly in Romania. Ten issues were published in Transylvania between December 1981 and January 1983. After November 1982, however, the editors of Ellenpontok were systematically arrested, beaten and harassed.[***] Three editors of Ellenpontok (Counterpoints) -- Attila Ara-Kovacs, a philosopher, Karoly Toth, organizer of the Endre Ady Literary Circle, a Hungarian cultural organization, and Geza Szocs, one of the best-known Hungarian poets and thinkers in Romania -- were detained and interrogated, together with about a dozen other ethnic Hungarians. Their detention may have been connected with an unsigned memorandum dated September 1982 which had been sent by Ellenpontok editors to the Helsinki review conference in Madrid.

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[*] Richard Basset, "Romania Turns Screw on its Magyars," The London Times, June 6, 1984.

[**] Ibid.

[***] Committee for Human Rights in Rumania.

Karoly Toth, his wife, Szocs, and others were reportedly beaten and insulted. Attila Ara-Kovacs was released from custody on condition that he leave the town of Oradea, and he has since emigrated to Hungary; Toth was kept under house arrest. They all continue to experience official harassment.

On May 20, 1983, a new samizdat publication was formed, the Hungarian Press of Transylvania (HPT). In its founding statement, the editors declared that "the well-known, brutal methods of the Romanian authorities constrain the editors of the news agency to conduct their activities anonymously, responsibly and with the greatest degree of caution as regards their news sources."*

There are other examples of persecution faced by the Hungarian minority:

> -- Arpad Visky, an actor with the Hungarian Theaters of Marosvasarhely (known as Tigru Mures in Romanian) and of Sepsiszentgyorgy (Sfintul Gheorghe), was sentenced on August 7, 1983, to five years' imprisonment for "slandering Romania, the Romanian people and the socialist system," and "disseminating hostile propaganda." Visky was known to identify with the Hungarian minority. He was arrested on February 24, 1983 after an incident at the cafe of the

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*Committee for Human Rights in Rumania.

Hungarian Theater in Sfintul Gheorghe, when two strangers tried to enter a private gathering after a performance. Visky asked the two men to leave, they took offense, revealed themselves as members of the Securitate, and took him for questioning. After his arrest, his whereabouts were unknown for six months, until the summer of 1983.* He is now in prison in Bucharest.

-- Bela Pall, teacher of mathematics at the liceum of Ditro, has been subjected to official harassment since the 1950s because of his criticism of official attempts to prevent education in the Hungarian language. He was eventually forced to retire. He was arrested after traveling abroad in 1983. His present whereabouts are unknown. Unofficial sources believe he is being held in the psychiatric ward of the political prison in Bucharest.**

-- The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party is reported to have ordered an investigation into the Kriterion Publishing House in Bucharest. This is the only publisher of books for national minorities. The stated objections to Kriterion were 1) "degenerate activities which have strayed from the principles of Marxism Leninism;" 2) falsification of history; 3) "fostering the publication of writings of no literary value."***

-- On November 5, 1983, Romanian border guards allegedly closed the Romanian-Hungarian border at two different points for several hours. This occurred at the start of a 3-day holiday when many Hungarians would have crossed the border to visit relatives in Transylvania. The intent was to discourage visits from Hungarians.****

-- Several Hungarian theater directors were fired in May 1984 for their plans to put on a play about Karolyl Kos, a Hungarian architect. The authorities banned the play as a fascist provocation. Since January 1984, a wave of dismissals of Hungarians from positions in the cultural sphere has been reported, including editors of Hungarian newspapers and journals.

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*Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, February 28, 1984, and the Hungarian Press of Transylvania (HPT), September 1, 1983, Release No. 5/1983.

**HPT, op. cit., March 30, 1984, Release No. 11/1984.

***HPT, March 10, 1984, Release No. 6/1984.

****HPT, November 7, 1983, Release No. 13/1983.

Contacts Between Romanians and Hungarians

Censorship in Hungary is far less stringent than in Romania, and the Hungarian people have more freedom to express their views in print and in public. In addition to their desire to suppress Hungarian nationalism, Romanian authorities may fear exposing their citizens to the relative freedom and modest political activism that exists in Hungary.

In a March 1983 report to the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights,* Budapest intellectual Gaspar Miklos Tamas, himself a Transylvanian Hungarian, states that the Hungarian-language press in Romania is forced to treat Hungary as if it were a foreign country:

> ...they are allowed to publish as much information about Hungary as they are of a Western country of secondary importance -- Denmark, for example.

Romania does not import contemporary Hungarian literature from Hungary, with the exception of children's books. Most book imports from Hungary are actually the works of Romanian writers that have been translated into Hungarian.

Publications sent from Hungary are often confiscated by the Romanian authorities. It is virtually impossible to subscribe to newspapers or periodicals from Hungary, which are not for sale in Romania. The free exchange of magazines between institutions in Romania and Hungary has decreased and Romanian libraries are compelled to refuse gifts from Hungary.

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*Gaspar Miklos Tamas, "The Position of Hungarian Minorities in the Neighboring Countries," Violations of the Helsinki Accords: Report From Hungary, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, May 1983, p. 30.

The Romanian authorities have also placed restrictions on sending some ethnic Hungarian-language publications printed in Romania to Hungary. This makes it more difficult for people in Hungary to get reliable information about the Hungarian minority in Romania.

Romanian authorities have increasingly restricted the flow of travellers between Hungary and Romania. This has been accomplished in large part by Decree 225/1974 which states that relatives of Romanian citizens who are not themselves Romanian citizens cannot lodge in Romanian homes, with the exception of members of the immediate family. Amnesty International has received reports that after this law was enacted, hundreds of members of the Hungarian minority, the group which has the greatest number of relatives abroad, were fined up to 15,000 leis for allowing relatives from Hungary to stay in their homes. Gaspar Miklos Tamas reports that such fines range from 5,000 to 30,000 leis and that this regulation has completely done away with youth tourism from Hungary to Romania, which formerly flourished.

Those tourists from Hungary who do manage to travel to Romania are discouraged from visiting Hungarians in Transylvania, particularly outspoken minority leaders. On several occasions, Hungarians have been detained and interrogated at the border upon leaving Romania, and the ethnic Hungarians they visited have also been questioned. The Csangos -- ethnic Hungarians living in the Moldavian part of

Romania -- are said to be severely persecuted and frequently assaulted by the police, merely for speaking Hungarian. They have no Hungarian schools nor may they use the Hungarian versions of their names or declare themselves to be Hungarian. Their church services in Hungarian are forbidden. Travellers from Hungary are not allowed to go to Moldavia. Those who attempt it have been sent back to Hungary by the Romanian authorities and their hosts have been fined and threatened with forcible relocation to other areas. Ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania have also been banished from Moldavia.

Visits to Hungary by Hungarians from Romania are also discouraged, although by law Romanian citizens are permitted to visit any Warsaw Pact country every two years. Nor are Hungarians from Romania allowed to travel to Hungary to study, even on student scholarships. Amnesty International has reported that Romania has an official quota of ethnic Hungarians who can travel to Hungary for prolonged visits. Some who have applied have been questioned, intimidated, or assaulted in public places by unidentified persons and in this way pressured to withdraw their applications. Sometimes Hungarians are unable to obtain the appropriate application forms from officials who claim they are out of print.

Hungarian authorities accept only a small number of those who want to emigrate from Romania. Thus, even if Romanian authorities were to grant ethnic Hungarians permission to leave Romania, they would face difficulties in entering Hungary.

IX. THREATS TO ROMANIAN EMIGRANTS ABROAD

A number of Romanian emigres who have spoken out against President Ceausescu's regime have been the target of Romanian secret police harassment abroad. Paul Goma, a Romanian writer who was expelled from Budapest in 1977 and now lives in exile in Paris, has received death threats in Romanian by mail and by phone. In February 1981, two mail bombs postmarked from Spain exploded in the homes of Goma and Nicolas Penescu, a former Romanian Minister of the Interior. Both Penescu and an explosives expert who detonated the bomb were seriously injured; Goma was not harmed.

In May 1982, Virgil Tanase, an exiled Romanian writer living in Paris, disappeared after leaving his home to meet an associate. Several weeks earlier, Tanase had published a highly critical account of President Ceausescu's personality cult and repressive reign in Romania. Romanian emigres in Paris feared that Tanase had angered the Romanian authorities and had been kidnapped or even murdered by the Romanian secret police. President Francois Mitterand expressed grave concern over Tanase's disappearance and postponed a planned state visit to Romania for the fall.

By the end of August, however, it emerged that a Romanian spy operating in France had defected to French counter-intelligence and revealed that he had been ordered to assassinate both Goma and Tanase. The agent then cooperated with Tanase and the French intelligence authorities to fake Tanase's kidnapping, enabling the agent to return to Romania to bring out his family to France. Tanase reappeared at a press conference on August 31, 1983, and announced that the assassination plot had been foiled.

French authorities later disclosed another alleged plot by the Romanian secret police to kill exiled Romanian writer Virgil Ierunca. In April 1983, Virgil Tanase, Paul Goma, Virgil Ierunca, and another Romanian emigre, Monica Lovinescu, appeared on a French television broadcast and discussed the harassment to which they had been subjected by the Romanian secret police, culminating in the three asssassination attempts. President Ceausescu described the program as "tendentious" and registered his protest with the French government for failing to stop the broadcast.

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STATEMENT BY JACK J. SPITZER, IMMEDIATE PAST PRESIDENT, B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. SPITZER. Mr. Chairman, I'm grateful, too, for the opportunity to again testify before this committee on the matter of Romanian most-favored-nation trade status on behalf of B'nai B'rith International, which has been very deeply involved in this matter. As a matter of fact, our history of interest in this concern goes back to 1870, when the then-President Ulysses S. Grant appointed one of my distinguished predecessors as the first American consul to Romania. That deep interest has been concerned with the right of Jews to emigrate as well as with the viability of a Jewish community in Romania.

I can report to you that there is a viable Jewish community in Romania; under Chief Rabbi Rosen's leadership, the Jewish community survives and is vital and active and effective, and worships with great freedom.

The emigration process has been chancey. Over a period of time, differing problems, different pressures; but it is our feeling that most of the problems either have been worked out or are able to be worked out with negotiation.

I myself have been to Romania five different times, each time meeting, among others, with President Ceaucescu, and the last meeting was as recent as last May. We were particularly disturbed then by the anti-Semitic attack on the community, Rabbi Rosen and I have been assured by the Government, specifically by President Ceaucescu, that that will not be repeated so long as it is within their control.

It is our judgment that most-favored-nation trade status should be again granted to Romania, because we feel that we are able, with the benefit of this review and this annual evaluation of the process of emigration, able to negotiate and resolve most of the problems which may arise.

Fortunately, the problem that you referred to in your conversation with Assistant Secretary Palmer, Senator Danforth with reference to the limitation of admittance into this country of refugees, Israel, with its policy of accepting persons of Jewish faith without limitation, has itself accepted most of the Jews emigrating from Romania. They do go to Israel, rather than the United States, and the numbers are very satisfactory in terms of the size of the population.

I can suggest to you as a member of the Joint Distribution Committee Executive Committee that the American Jewish community's assistance to aged Romanians—and they are 60 percent of the population of the Romanian Jewish community today—goes on constructively and with the complete cooperation of the Romanian Government.

It is a pleasure to recommend this process of approval of most-favored-nation trade status for Romania.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, sir.

Ms. Gaer.

[Mr. Spitzer's written testimony follows:]

STATEMENT OF JACK J. SPITZER,
ON BEHALF OF
B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL
TO
THE SENATE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE
AUGUST 8, 1984

Mr. Chairman:

I am grateful for this opportunity to state the position of B'nai B'rith International regarding a continuation of Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania. B'nai B'rith has been deeply involved in the welfare of Romanian Jewry since 1870. As the immediate past President of B'nai B'rith International, I continue to be personally involved in this matter and have held a number of constructive exchanges with key Romanian leaders, including five conferences with President Ceaucescu, the most recent of which was this past May.

B'nai B'rith has membership in some 48 countries including approximately 500,000 members in the United States. B'nai B'rith is actively concerned with the welfare of all Jewish communities in the world. We have had a particularly sustained interest in the condition of the Jewish community in Romania both as to its freedom of worship and the right of Romanian Jews to emigrate to Israel, or for family reunification in other countries.

B'nai B'rith's involvement in the question of Romanian Jewish emigration heightened following the signing in 1975 of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement calling for each nation to grant the other Most-Favored-Nation treatment with regard to customs, duties and charges. In waiving the application of subsections (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 for Romania, President Ford notified the Congress that he had received assurances that the emigration practices of Romania will henceforth lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives of Section 402. In this regard, President Ford cited the Declaration of the Presidents of the United States and Romania, signed in 1973, wherein it was stated, "they will contribute to the solution of humanitarian problems on the basis of mutual confidence and good will."

Although B'nai B'rith has consistently supported a renewal of Most-Favored-Nation status with Romania each year since 1975, we have also indicated some measure of dissatisfaction with the numbers of Romanian Jews allowed to go to Israel. In previous years' testimony to this Subcommittee, we have noted that emigration to Israel has gone from 3,729 in 1974 -- the last full year before MFN — to 2,372 in 1975, 1,982 in 1976, 1,347 in 1977, 1,141 in 1978, 991 in 1979, 1,043 in 1980 and 973 in 1981. In 1982, emigration climbed to 1,513, falling back to 1,283 in 1983. The first six months of 1984, however, represent a 95 percent increase in visas approved over the same period last year, during which time the education tax was in effect, depressing emigration.

We have recognized that the general decline in Romanian Jewish emigration can be attributed in part to the aging character of the Romanian Jewish community and the resulting decline in the pool of prospective emigrants. Unfortunately, the rate of Jewish emigration is also influenced by the

Romanian government's general policy of discouraging emigration.

Despite our belief that there was always room for improvement in Romania's emigration performance, we have felt that preserving Romania's MFN status was important for several reasons. A significant number of Jews have been allowed to leave, and MFN provided leverage for increasing those numbers and resolving some of the stubborn cases. Moreover, keeping the treaty made good diplomatic sense since Romania's foreign policy is the most independent of any Warsaw Pact country, demonstrated most recently by its decision not to participate in the Soviet-inspired boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics, where, as you all know, their athletes have acquited themselves with great success. Romania has also expressed that independence by being the only Pact country to maintain formal diplomatic and commercial ties with Israel. Indeed, the very fact that Romania enjoys good relations with both sides in the Middle East conflict has enabled it to play a constructive role in furthering peace in that region.

Over the years, B'nai B'rith and other responsible American Jewish organizations have encouraged the Romanians to relax and expedite their emigration procedures and allow greater numbers of Jews to go to Israel.

Our dialogue with Romanian government representatives in 1982 helped produce the best year for emigration to Israel since 1967, with 1,513 Jews going to Israel. We were also given assurances that the often onerous emigration process would be shortened to six months, with no punitive action taken against those who would apply to leave.

With this improvement in the emigration picture came growing Romanian concern about the "brain drain" -- the loss of skilled and educated people to the West. Thus, in November 1982 the Romanian government announced that each person wishing to emigrate would be required to reimburse the government, in hard currency, for the cost of his or her education.

Fortunately for Romania and for the United States, Romania's President Ceaucescu decided not to implement the tax, and President Reagan was therefore free to recommend another renewal of MFN to Congress. We were also pleased with Romanian assurances that it would not create economic and procedural barriers to emigration. In letters to the Chairmen of the Senate International Trade Subcommittee and the House Trade Subcommittee, Romania also gave indications that it will adhere to a six month processing period for emigration applicants.

The record on Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel since then suggests that the Romanian government has been sincere in attempting to fulfill its assurances. Not only have some difficult cases been resolved, but the emigration rate has been running at satisfactory levels and there has been a marked decline in the number of complaints about harassment of visa applicants and the unavailability of visa applications.

B'nai B'rith was concerned several months ago over the publication of an anti-semitic poem which included a personal attack on Chief Rabbi Moses David Rosen. My discussions with President Ceaucescu and other Romanian officials during my last visit to Romania helped sensitize them to the need to prevent such writings from being circulated. The President himself and the Romanian government have taken steps to see to it that there is no recurrence of this calumny. We believe strongly there is a continuing responsibility to prevent such defamation.

We believe that while Romania's citizens are not as free to leave as Americans, its emigration record has improved and will continue to improve. Romania's willingness to deal with this issue in a cooperative manner, together with Romania's relatively independent foreign policy, are compelling reasons to continue Most-Favored-Nation treaty status.

B'nai B'rith therefore endorses another one-year extension of Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to present the views of B'nai B'rith.

STATEMENT OF FELICE D. GAER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, NEW YORK, NY

Ms. GAER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The late-Senator Henry Jackson, who was of course a principal author of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, had described the right to leave as the touchstone of all human rights, and the traditional final lifeline for victims of racial, religious, and political persecutions.

Mr. Chairman, the International League in its family reunification project casework has found all too poignantly that Senator Jackson's comments were precisely on point, as they were so often.

This conviction, this finding, has spurred us to monitor the right to leave in many countries throughout the world including Romania, and led us to bring appeals privately before numerous Government authorities and the United Nations and now again this year to this subcommittee, in the hope that it would benefit not only the 1,000 Romanian families who are in our current case load but all Romanian citizens who are seeking permission to emigrate.

We have prepared testimony for the committee with extensive appendices, outlining the individuals and the circumstances affecting them.

Many of these reveal particular hardship, and we have found that merely for trying to leave some of these families continue to face punishment under the Romanian criminal code. Some have suffered de facto reprisals; many have been forced to endure interminable delays in the processing of their exit applications, despite the various assurances and letters of which you have heard earlier and which are described in some of the earlier testimony.

The urgency of the present circumstances prompts us to draw them to the subcommittee's attention. Romania has various obligations under international law, and treaties which it has signed, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which is binding, but also under the Helsinki Agreement. We have found, unfortunately, that the Romanian Government has not been carrying out its obligations under that, or under the Madrid Concluding Document, and we urge the subcommittee to urge the Romanian Government to stop those reprisals, to provide information on the outstanding cases, and to give priority treatment to elderly, sick and infirm applicants whose younger relatives are abroad, who are not permitted to leave as outlined extensively in our testimony.

Finally, we ask that the subcommittee ask the Romanian Government to undertake efforts to simplify emigration procedures and ensure the uniform application of the emigration procedure.

One last comment: The League has appreciated the Romanian Ambassador's willingness to discuss many of the League's humanitarian appeals, and we wanted to acknowledge that point in our testimony.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you.

Mr. Crisan.

[The written testimony of Ms. Gaer follows:]

TESTIMONY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ON ROMANIA

BEFORE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF THE COMMITTEE OF FINANCE OF THE U.S. SENATE[1,2]

August 8, 1984

Introduction and Recommendations

The late Senator Henry Jackson, a principal author of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, described the right to leave as "the touchstone of all human rights" and "the traditional final lifeline for victims of racial, religious, and political persecutions."[3] Our Family Reunification casework has revealed all too poignantly that this is so. This conviction has spurred us to monitor the right to leave in many countries throughout the world, including Romania. It has led us to bring appeals privately before numerous government authorities and in the United Nations. It is prompting us now to present our findings to this Subcommittee in the hope it will benefit not only the 1000 Romanian families in our caseload, but all Romanian citizens seeking permission to emigrate.[4]

Many of our cases, noted in Appendices to our testimony, reveal instances of particular hardship. Merely for trying to leave, some of these families have faced punishment under the Romanian criminal code; some have suffered *de facto* reprisals; and a number have been forced to endure interminable delays in the processing of their exit applications. The urgency of the circumstances in each of the cases prompts us to draw them to the Subcommittee's attention.

Guaranteeing the right to emigrate freely is explicitly required by the Jackson-Vanik amendment; it is also guaranteed in basic international human rights instruments.[5] In addition, family reunification is an important provision of the Helsinki Accords, and the Madrid Concluding Document.[6]

Unfortunately, the League has found that the Romanian emigration process is characterized by arbitrariness, long delay and reprisals. Instead of serving to remedy the plight of the kinds of victims Senator Jackson spoke of, this process is all too often being employed to maintain injustice.

We, therefore, recommend that before acting on the Presidential waiver of Section 402, this Subcommittee urge the Romanian Government to take the following steps:

(1) Stop all reprisals and abusive practices against those who seek to emigrate.

(2) Provide information regarding progress on the pending emigration cases described in today's hearing and facilitate their prompt resolution;

(3) Give priority treatment to applicants who are elderly and sick since their cases reveal compelling circumstances, and present no justification for denying emigration permission.

(4) Undertake efforts to simplify, publish domestically and ensure the uniform application of emigration procedures;

Romanian Laws Concerning Emigration

The right to leave is not safeguarded in Romanian law: it is not mentioned in the current Romanian Constitution of 1965, as amended, and there are no specific domestic laws guaranteeing the right to leave. On the contrary, various provisions stipulate lengthy and complex conditions for acquiring exit visas and passports. In the absence of legal guarantees to protect citizens' rights to leave, the State's claim of the right to control the movement of its citizens goes unchallenged. Under provisions of passport decrees, criminal codes, and civil laws which legislate movement across the country's borders, the State exercises unharnessed power to determine who may leave, when, and under what circumstances.

The Government of Romania frequently assures the international community that it uses these powers in a manner which fully comports with its obligations under international human rights law. It has even gone so far as to state publicly and unequivocally that "Romanian citizens are also able to travel to any country in the world for personal reasons or as tourists."[7]

At best this is misleading. The following examination of Romanian domestic law reveals that the right to leave is severely qualified even on the face of the legislation. A review of the League's extensive caseload demonstrates that these laws are indeed applied in such a way that an alarming curtailment of emigration rights results.

Article 12 of the Romanian Decree on Passports provides for complete government discretion in the issuance of documents for foreign travel. It empowers Romanian authorities to deny or withdraw a passport when "by going abroad, [a Romanian citizen] could prejudice the interests of the Romanian State or affect the good relationship thereof with other states."[8] The vague wording of this decree permits arbitrary denials of passports and contemplates restrictions on the right to leave far exceeding those permitted under international law, namely "those necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others."[9]

Other legal provisions ensure strict State regulation of movement from the country:

--One decree governing travel limits the validity of exit visas to only six months from the date of issue.[10]

--Another stipulates that personal travel is permitted only once every two years, with certain exceptions regarding family reunification or obtaining medical care.[11]

--Yet another makes State permission for personal travel contingent on "the limits of available foreign currencies as established for this purpose through the annual State Plan and in accordance with the criteria and preferential order established by the Resolution of Council of Ministers."[12]

--Before being permitted to leave to marry a foreign national, citizens must also seek and receive separate permission to wed from the Romanian Parliament.[13]

There is no possibility for independent judicial review of State denials of permission to travel. Under the Passport Decree, a commission of the Council of Ministers has final say concerning "all activities of issuing passports and visas, including...resolving the complaints against the decisions taken by the other authorities charged with the issuance of passports and visas."[14]

Those who peacefully try to exercise their right to leave against Government wishes face harsh criminal penalties. An unauthorized crossing of the State border, or an attempt to do so, is punishable by imprisonment from six months to three years. Mihai Petrescu, whose case has been documented by the League, was sentenced to eight months imprisonment after his attempt in 1972 to cross the Romanian border without official authorization; although he has fully served the sentence, he continues to be denied permission to leave. Peter Lung, also among the League's caseload, was apprehended while attempting to cross the Romanian border into Yugoslavia and sentenced to a six-month prison term which ended on June 3, 1982. At that time, because of a hearing problem, he was trying to go abroad for medical treatment which he could not obtain in his country.

Selective Application

As noted above, Romanian law exempts travel for purposes of family reunification and for obtaining medical care from certain restrictions applicable in other cases of personal travel (Resolution No. 424 of 1970). We have found, nevertheless, that in practice travel from Romania is severely and routinely limited irrespective of the would-be traveler's purpose.

Many of the League's cases involve family members who wish to emigrate to rejoin relatives abroad. As a result of travel denials, husbands are separated from wives, and children from parents. Even in the most compelling circumstances denials are common.

The Petrușcu family wishes to go to the assistance of their grandfather, who is gravely ill. They are not permitted to leave. Elisabeth Reiger has been trying for five years to receive permission to go abroad to visit her father who is ailing, yet she has not even been able to obtain the forms necessary to begin the application procedure.

In other cases documented by the League, the applicant needs to travel to receive medical care unobtainable in Romania. Cristina Ionescu, herself a medical doctor, has been denied permission to go to the U.S., the only place where she can receive treatment for the disfiguring disease of the adrenal glands from which she suffers. Mihai Demeny has applied to go to West Germany for adequate medical attention for diabetes and partial paralysis from which he has been suffering. His daughter, who lives there, would care for him. Edith Schuller requires corrective treatment currently unavailable in Romania for a congenital back disorder. Her sister, Elisabeth Roth, also sought medical care outside Romania. She suffers from paralysis, heart disease, asthma, ulcers, and arthritis.

A Lengthy and Cumbersome Process

The inordinate delays in Romania's emigration application process, noted in last year's League testimony, continue.

Partly responsible are the cumbersome and obscure procedures of the process coupled with the bureaucratic indifference of officials. Applying to emigrate is a two-level process in which applicants must acquire, submit and receive decisions on both a "short" and "long" application form. A number of individuals have reported to us that even obtaining the forms can be a frustrating and patience-testing process. On more than one occasion it has ben reported to us that after filing the applications, one or both of the forms have been "lost" or filled out incorrectly--such as containing a minor misspelling--giving officials an excuse for requiring the entire process to begin anew.

However, the length of the delays in many cases is so extended that simple bureaucratic inefficiency cannot be blamed. The League has documented 29 cases of families who first applied to leave more than 20 years ago; 17 other families who applied between 20 and 15 years ago; and another 13 families who applied between 15 and 10 ye[illegible]o. Some of these families have submitted as many [illegible] applications without success (Schmidt, Weiss, [illegible]zel, Kreuter). Many have never received any response to their applications, while others have received flat denials without explanation. There can be no doubt that such inaction reflects an intent by the authorities to deny citizens their right to leave.

"The Education Tax"

In November 1982, Romania passed its "Education Repayment Decree", which requires emigration applicants, except those above retirement age, to repay in "hard currency" the cost of education received beyond the compulsory level (10 years of schooling). Since Romanian citizens are not permitted to own foreign currency, and their own is not convertible, even a well-to-do Romanian family which wants to leave cannot buy its way out without help from abroad. This tax was clearly designed to be a virtually insurmountable obstacle to emigration. Although we reported last year on some 30 instances where this tax had been assessed (and in some cases paid), we have received no reports during the past year of its imposition upon would-be emigrants who have appealed to us. We believe the non-enforcement of this tax is due to the concern shown by this Subcommittee, its counterpart in the House of Representatives, and the Administration. If this Subcommittee were to pay concerted attention to other restrictive measures inhabiting the right to leave Romania, such as those outlined in this testimony, we believe there could be similar positive results.

Priority Appeals in 1984: The Elderly and Infirm

The League wishes to draw the Subcommittee's attention to a group of cases involving elderly and often ill applicants whose children are already in the West. There can be no justification for withholding emigration permission in these cases. The individuals concerned are pensioned, and it has been many years since they were members of the work force; in addition, these cases do not involve issues of state security.

The League has documented twenty-five such cases in the past year. They range in age from 62 to 90 years (See Appendix IV for these old people's names, ages, and addresses).

Some are seriouslyu ill, such as:

Margarita Weiss, who is paralyzed; Mihail Teleki, who has heart disease and high blood pressure; Theresia michelbach, who suffers from hardening of the arteries as well as stomach problems; Andreas and Anna Binder, who have, respectively, rheumatism and phlebitis; Nikolaus Tomansky, who has circulatory problems. Many of these people need medicinal treatment in the West, and all badly need care.

Every one of these elderly people wishes to rejoin family members in the West. Some of them are utterly alone; none of their relatives remains in Romania. Others may have one child in Romania, but at the same time have several other children in the West whom they fear they will never see again unless they are allowed to leave soon, since they are of such advanced age.

Hardship in some families is particularly acute in view of the very meager pensions on which they must subsist. In several cases, these are as low as six or ten dollars a month.

A large number of these persons have been applying for permission to leave Romania for many years, in some cases well over twenty years:

Since 1961:

Johann and Ana Becker (71 yrs. old and 63 yrs. old);
Peter and Johanna Mutsch (90 and 82);
Nikolaus and Johanna Tomansky (68 and 65);

Since 1962:

Mihai and Ecaterina Bodendorfer (66 and 62);

Since 1963:

Ignatz and Katharina Schmidt (81 and 77);
Petru Procker (89);

Since 1965:

Sebastian and Anna Schneider (77 and 78);
Peter and Ecaterina Schweininger (75 and 71).

In some of these long-standing cases, younger family members were allowed to leave, while their parents -- and sometimes one sibling -- were denied that permission. Separating families in this manner seems unnecessarily cruel.

As such examples make all too plain, the arbitrary nature of decisions denying the exercise of one of the most basic human rights is especially harsh and unjustifiable for this group of people, who must live every day with very little hope of ever being with their families again.

Reprisals Experienced by Applicants

In previous hearings before this Subcommittee, The League noted that in addition to the problems encountered during the application process itself, a large number of applicants are forced to suffer other reprisals and forms of harassment. The International League regrets to report that a variety of reprisals against would-be emigrants continue to be reported by the families represented in our caseload. For some, these practices signify a continued campaign of intimidation against them--the same factors which initially prompted their desire to leave; for others this treatment may mark the beginning of a long and torturous ordeal.

The forms of abuse found in our documentation include arbitrary arrest and detention; police beatings, surveillance and other types of intimidation; discrimination in employment, education, and housing; confiscation of property; the denial of medical treatment; and, threats of imprisonment or involuntary internment in psychiatric institutions. These reprisals are in themselves violations of the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

At least fifteen of the League-documented cases report that they have suffered harassment at the hands of the police in connection with their desire to emigrate.

One of the most severe cases of reprisals reported to the League concerns the Galalae family. After the head of the household, Dr. Costel Galalae, applied for permission to join his wife and three of his children in West Germany, he was subjected to arrest and imprisonment on two occasions--in February and again in June 1982. In addition there were police searches of his home, and threats and denials of medical care. His patients, colleagues, and friends were repeatedly summoned to the Security Police office where they were forced to sign declarations that he politically opposed the Government. His niece, Paruschiva Galalae, was reprotedly beaten by police for refusing to sign such a declaration. During his second period of detention, beginning on June 14, 1982, Dr. Galalae was taken to Porta-Alba prison, where he was forced to do heavy labor. Despite a diseased liver, for which he has twice undergone surgery, a dangerous heart condition, an abdominal rupture, a brain spasm and fainting spells, he reportedly has received no medical treatment. On October 22, 1982, in Dr. Galalae's absence, an Appeals Court in Constanza sentenced him to four years in prison, reportedly for opposing the Government. After visiting Dr. Galalae in November, his sister has averred that he is between "life and death." On humanitarian grounds, the League urges that Dr. Galalae be permitted to receive competent medical care, as well as allowed to exercise his right to leave the country.

In another case involving reports of police brutality, the applicant, Vasile Tolan, Jr., reports being beaten by the local police after applying for permission to leave. Another example, Margaret Newmann, was summoned three times to the police station at night for interrogation about her desire to leave, during which time her young children were forced to stay at home alone. The Koos and Wester families report that after applying to emigrate their telephones have been monitored and their mail intercepted. The Ionescu and Banu families report being threatened by authorities after seeking permission to emigrate.

Discrimination in Employment and Education

In Romania, the unemployed are often treated as second-class citizens and may even be criminally prosecuted for "parasitism." Therefore, dismissal from employment can be a severe sanction for an emigration application and an effective deterrent for others who might like to apply. A number of individuals in League-documented cases were fired from their jobs soon after requesting permission to emigrate. According to our case files, twelve persons, apparently blacklisted from employment, have yet to find other work although they are skilled in their professions. Included in the League's group are an aerospace engineer (Bogdan), a hydropower expert (Gane), and teachers (Banhegyi, Glesz, Dengel, Dimitrescu, Kahles, Neumann). The case of Alexander Bogdan is particularly disturbing; an aerospace engineer fired almost two years ago, he reports being shut out of ten jobs in his field, and remains unemployed today.

In other cases, emigration applicans have been demoted to lower-paying positions far beneath their capabilities: for example, professors are being forced to work as unskilled laborers in factories (Ierugan, Ionescu, Schuller); and a factory foreman has been obliged to perform the tasks of a common laborer (Sollner).

Another work-related reprisal constitutes the transferral of some family members to work-sites located a great distance away from their homes, resulting in the forced separation of families and friends even within the country. Decebal Dimitrescu, an engineer, has been transferred to a job 300 kilometers away from his family and home of 25 years; and Mihail Vrabie was demoted to a lower-paying job 150 kilometers from his family.

Students in families applying to emigrate have reported discrimination with regard to education. A number of families report that their children have not been permitted by authorities to enroll in school (Gane, Dengel, Sauer). Gertrude Deffert was informed, after she applied to leave, that she would not receive the academic degree she had earned.

Economic Sanctions

In addition to the economic hardships resulting from job dismissals and demotions, emigration applicants sometimes suffer other economic sanctions which aggravate their position.

These measures include eviction from homes (Galalae) and confiscation of personal property (Wester). Many emigration applicants are deemed ineligible to receive State benefits such as medical and dental care, hospitalization and pensions.

In addition, some applicants, on the basis of Government assurances that permission to leave is imminent, have sold their possessions and resigned from their jobs, only to face long waits before the permission is granted.

Conclusion

The right to leave is not secured in Romania. Although a number of Romanian citizens are allowed to emigrate each year, there are many who cannot. The League has documented the cases of 1000 families who currently are being denied permission to leave Romania.

Romanian procedures concerning emigration are cumbersome and arbitrary. After applying for permission to leave, Romanian citizens face long delays, discrimination and harsh reprisals.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The International League for Human Rights is one of the oldest, non-governmental international human rights organizations. Founded in 1942, and based in New York City, it works on a broad range of human rights issues concerning countries in all regions of the world. Some current League projects address human rights violations in such diverse countries as Nicaragua, Iraq, Chile, East Germany, South Africa, Taiwan, El Salvador and Northern Ireland. The League also works closely with a network of forty affiliates in some thirty countries throughout the world.

[2] The invaluable assistance of Barbara Appel, Sandra Bieniek, Amanda Moretti, Sharon Shreders, and Robert Tarnab in the preparation of this testimony is gratefully acknowledged.

[3] Congressional Record, December 10, 1975, and June 14, 1977, Senator Jackson.

[4] Since the 1975 signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe ("the Helsinki Accords"), the International League for Human Rights began receiving a steady stream of personal appeals on behalf of Romanians who were denied the right to emigrate to rejoin family members abroad. Out of this has grown the League's "Family Reunification Project." Today the project works on behalf of over 1000 Romanian families who are unable to leave to rejoin relatives living in the West.

This testimony is based on data concerning nearly 400 of these 1000 cases who have appealed again to the League within the past year. (See Appendices I through IV). Each case has been systematically documented by the League through continuing correspondence with close family members in the West and, where possible, with the victims themselves.

[5] Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which Romania is a party, provides that "Everyone shall be free to leave any country including his own."

[6] As one of signers of the Madrid Concluding Document, Romania has agreed to the following conditions contained in that document:

1. The participating states will favorably deal with application relating to contacts and regular meeting on the basis of family ties , reunification of families, and marriage between citizens of different states and will decide upon them in the same spirit.
2. They will decide upon these applications in emergency cases for family meetings as expeditiously as possible, for family reunification and for marriage between citizens of different states in normal practice within six months and for other family meetings with gradually decreasing time limits.
3. They confirm that the presentation or renewal of applicationas in these cases will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicants or of members of their families concerning *inter alia*, employment, housing, residence status,

family support , access to social, economic, or economic benefits, as well as any other rights and obligations flowing from the laws and regulations of the respective participating states.

4. The participating states will provide the necessary information on the procedures to be followed by the applicants in these cases and on the regulations to be observed, as well as, upon the applicant's request, provide the relevant forms.

5. They will, where necessary, gradually reduce fees charged in conncection with these applications, including those for visas and passports, in order to bring them to a moderate level in relation to the average monthly income in the respective participating states.

6. Applicants will be informed as expeditiously as possible of the decision that has been reached. In case of refusal, applicants will also be informed of their right to renew applications after reasonably short intervals.

[7] See e.g., UN document CCPR/C/1/Add. 33, pp. 12 and 13, 31 August 1978, Report of the Government of Romania to the UN Human Rights Committee under Article 40 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

[8] Decree No. 156 of March 24, 1970, Article 12 c.

[9] See, The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 12 (3).

[10] Decree No. 156 of March 24, 1970, Article 27.

[11] Resolution No. 424/1970, Article 10d, e.

[12] Passport Decree No. 156 of March 24, 1970, Article 15. (Emphasis added.)

[13] Civil Code, Article 134.

[14] Decree No. 156 of March 24, 1970, Article 8b.

APPENDIX IA

PRIORITY CASES:

REPRISALS

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
ALBU	Lucien, 8/28/48	Soseaua Colentina#76 BlocIII, Scara A, Ap32 Etaj 7 Sector 2	6/82	12/82	FRANCE	Wife of Lucien	$5000
	Alin, 6/1/75 Darius 11/6/78	Bucuresti 72446 O.F. 11					
AWENDER	Susanna, 11/11/52 Georg, 12/6/50 Jurgen, 6/5/73 Erwin 2/2/75	1981 Giarmata Str. Johannei No: 1110 Judetul Timis	7 times between 1972 & 1983.	7 times dates unknown	FRG	Andreas & Johanna Stoffel (parents of Susanna)	
BANHEGYI	Eva Klara 1971 Zoltan 1977	Tirgu Mures Pasajul Violetelor Nr.5 Apartment 23	10/81 2/82	Issued passport application 1/4/83 Received passport 3/24/83	CANADA	Husband Zoltan Banhegyi	$24,45
BANU	Ioan, 10/6/41 Eugenia, 6/28/44 Ligia, 1/22/69 Alin, 8/13/70 Teofil, 12/5/71	Str.Poetului No.6½ Bloc Z4 ScB I Ap.6 Arad,	2/28/78	4/5/79	USA	Ioan's sister Maria Motz	$30,000
BARBULESCU	Dan Mircea, 8/4/50	Intrarea Maior Alexandru Cimpanu nr 6 Bucuresti VIII	10/5/81	12/18/81 9/1/82 4/1/83	USA		
BARTOLF	Elisabeth, 9/29/12 Adam, 7/10/39 Nikolaus, 6/9/35 Hilde, 8/27/38 Norbert, 5/7/61	2952 Semlac 428 Judet Arad,	1961 1964 1967 4/77	1982 1965 1968 9/77 (Nikolaus) 6/78 (Adam & Elisabeth)	FRG	Katharin Schoen, niece	
BINDER	Andreas, 3/23/16 Anna, 10/21/21 Andreas Jr., 9/28/56	Comcata Nr.273 Jud. Brasov Cod.3044	2/28/77 6/6/80	12/4/78 6/15/81 9/5/82	FRG	Sister of Andreas	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
BLESZ	Josef, 9/12/30 Rosi, 8/30/34 Horst, 3/20/56 Lore, 5/5/59	1995 Ortisoara 312 Judetul Timis	7/80 9/2/81 (#50/51) 10/27/81 (#62/21) 1/22/82 (#361) 8/27/82	Dates unknown	FRG	Maria Blesz, mother	$37,000 for Horst and Lore
BOGDAN	Alexandru, 9/19/53	Bdul.N.Balcescu no.24 B/5 70122 Bucharest..	9/20/80 (241412)	1/22/81 1/5/82 3/23/83 5/20/83	USA	Fiancee Angela V. Nalbantu	$18,50C
BOEN	Jakob, 9/20/34 Elisabeta 6/28/35	Communa Tomnatio 458 Judetul Timis	1958 Twelve subsequent applications	1955- 8/20/82 & 12 others between those dates	FRG	Desiderius Schaag, father	
CARANICA	Ana-Dorothea 6/5/48 Simona-Gabriela 6/8/75 Felip-Nicolae 12/15/77	Str. Berzei 47 Bucharest	6/18/82 10/25/82	dates unknown	FRG	Mihai Caranica Husband	$15,700
CIRY	Juliane 10/1/18 Erika 8/14/54	Str.Galilae 20 Timisoara 1900 Fratelia Circ VI	6/20/78 6/80 11/80 2/81 3/8/82	2/22/79	FRG	Brother, Rudolf Ciry	DM9,000
UNKNOWN Daughter & Husband of Tudor Cotruta and their 2 children		UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		USA	Tudor Cotruta	$7,400

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
DEMENY	Mihai,3/13/25 Hilda,9/7/31	1963 Periam 971 Timisoara			FRG	Daughter Judith Wagner	
DENGEL	Georg. 2/13/44 Elisabeth 9/12/46 Dieter,3/3/67 Edith,3/3/68	Str. Ogorului 27, 2400 Sibiu	1973 1975 1978 1979 2/81 (#27973) 1/3/82	1973 1975 1978 1979 2/81	FRG	Sigrid Schneider	
DEPPNER	Rosina,8/10/12 Andreas,12/14 '02 Rosina. 3/17/32	2463 Seica Mare 122 Jud Sibiu	Dates UNKNOWN	Dates UNKNOWN	FRG	Daughter & sister in FRG	
DIMITRESCU	Ecaterina 9/24/24 Decebal 11/27/24	Episcopiei St. No. 2, Bucharest.	7/79	4/2/83	CANADA	Ecaterina's sister, Eufrosina Marcu	
DIMITRESCU	Razvan Viorel 5/9/51 Mariana 4/29/52 Diana 1/7/78	Miron Constantinescu No. 5 Bucharest	7/79	4/2/83	CANADA	Aunt Eufrosina Marcu	
FAERBER	Peter, 11/12/20 Anna, 8/22/22	1935 Lenauheim 655 judetul Timis	1960	dates unknown	FRG	Katharina Bohn, mother	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
FISCHER	Hannelore 7/23/58 Horst 4/12/54 Wolfgang 10/14/80 Ramona 1/13/63 Ewald 2/10/59	Comuna Tomnatic 458, Judetul Timis.	12 times since 1958	12 times most recent 8/20/82	FRG	Grandfather: Desiderius Schaag	
FRAUNHOFFER	Nikolaus 2/2/24 Elisabeth 11/9/24 Annemarie 6/9/61	Lunga Nr.80 Con. Comlosul-Mare Judet, Timis.	10/10/76 11/78	11/10/77 11/10/79	FRG	Elisabeth Bauer, daughter.	$10,000
FREI	Juliane nee Bartolf, 7/16/46 Inga 9/5/67	2952 Semlac 428, Judet Arad.	1961 1964 1967 4/77	1962 1965 1968 9/77Nikolaus 1/78Frei 6/78Adam & Elis	FRG	Katharin Schoen, niece.	
GALALAE	Costel,1/1/32 Galileo-Dan 1/[illegible]/72	Poarta-Alba prison, Constanza Romania	dates unknown	dates unknown	FRG	wife & 2 sons and 1 daughter	
GALASEAN	Roxana Iulia 5/10/67 Lidia 9/23/68	Banca Nationala Str.16 Bacau 5500	9/16/82 1/8/83	4/15/83	FRG	Drs. Paul & Irina Galasean parents	
GALTER	Michael,1/4/09 Sara, 1/15/12 Horst,8/21/43 Erna, 9/2/46 Ernestine, 3/8/68 Elke, 7/7/70	Str. Gurii nr. 15, 3068 Albesti Jud. Murs Romania	7/30/74	dates unknown	FRG		

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
GANE	Sabin, 11/11/38 Neda-Aline, 11/21/73 Nora, 12/1/78 Ana-Maria, 12/17/79	Str. 8 intr. I.L. Cavagiule sector 2 Bucharest	Obtained passport 6/11/82	Dates unknown	USA	Sanda Gane, wife	$30,000
GEORGESCU	Dan,8/7/51	Cihoschi Str.10 2nd Fl, Apt. 9 Bucharest 71134	10/11/82 4/25/83	No answer as yet	SWITZERLAND	Gabriela Sanda Georgescu wife	SFr. 58,000
GOSCHY	Helmuth 3/5/58 Waltraud 5/25/60	1993 Sinandrei No.482 Judet, Timis	12/25/80 1/18/81 4/24/81 12/10/82	3/1/83	FRG	Brother Heinrich Goschy	$20,000
HELLSTERN	Mihai,9/28/19 Barbara,3/15/24 Mihai,Jr. 5/15/50	1994 Curani Nr. 16, Judetul Timis,	1971 1981	5 times dates unknown	FRG	Josef Hellstern, son.	
~~HOMMER~~ RESOLVED	Wilhelm,3/8/10 [illegible]5/14 Sigrid,2/7/39	Florilor 4 R3050 Sighisoara	1/80	3/15/83	FRG	Ida Homer, mother.	$3,800
HOMMER RESOLVED	Friederike 5/2/20 Hermann 8/10/13	Str. Friedrich Engels 10 R3125 Medias.	9/80	5/82	FRG	Ida Homer, mother	
HUGEL	Anna, 5/7/08 Josef,10/1/32 Susanna,8/10/34 Josef Jr. 4/10/62	Giarmata Str. Garii 953 Judetul Timis	1961 19 times subsequently last in 1982	19 times	FRG	Elisabeth Schoch daughter of Anna	
IERUGAN	Gabriel, 6/14/46 Elena, 5/22/48 Iuliana, 2/19/75 Aurora, 8/2/78	Str. Aurel Vlaicu 136 Bucharest	10/80	2/10/81 5/16/81 8/25/81 3/26/82 6/13/82 (#11849)	France	Horea Augustin Ierugin, brother	$22,400

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
IONESCU	Dr. Cristina Rodica 1/29/48 Victor 2/12/02	30 Traian Str.Apt.C Code 74122 Bucharest, Sector 3	2/2/80	5/22/80 8/25/80 11/4/80 2/2/81 9/17/81 5/28/82	USA	Vasile Lecca	amount unknown
IONESCU	Pancu-Mihai 11/16/49	Strada Ammen Mierlei no. 361.7 Sc.A Ap.26 Bucharest 63 Sec.1 Code 71228	9/21/81 1/3/82 over 25 others (#73105)	11/30/81 9/1/82 3/1/83	SWITZERLAND	Gabriel Donescu, sister	
KAHLES	Michael 11/29/08 Anna,2/16/14	Lunga	1979 dates unknown	no response	FRG	Frieda Deffert, daughter	
KAHLES	Franz, 6/19/34 Adelheid Magdalena Marlene	1980 Cenad No. 102, Jud. Timis	dates unknown	dates unknown	FRG	Katharina Kopp	$17,000
KALCH	Maria 9/10/53 Monica 7/21/76 Michael 7/6/78 Martina 11/29/81 Mihai,6/17/51	1995 Orti- soara Nr. 112, Jude- tul Timis	1971 1981	5 times dates unknown	FRG	brother, Josef Hellstern	
KELLER	Agneta,7/16/04 Katharina Krampulz 2/11/32 Paul Krampulz 3/13/30 Wilfred Krampulz 10/3/56	Pianul de Jos 202, Judet Alba	dates unknown	10/82 and others dates unknown	FRG	Agneta Keller, daughter	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
KILZER	Anna-Maria 12/13/36 Petru 4/28/32 Walter 10/1/60 Magdalena 8/12/08	1981 Giarmata Str. Moris 727, Judatul Timis.	1960 1981	7 times dates unknown	FRG	Elisabeth Knecht, mother	
KLECKER	Eva, 3/5/60	Bd 6 Martie 50 R-1900 Timisoara.	6/18/80	dates unknown	FRG	Eva Seiler daughter	
KNALL	Volkmar, 6/3/52 Irmtraut 1/31/52 Eike,4/24/77	R-3050 Sighisoara Str.6h. Dej.179 Jud.Mures	5/79 2/9/83	Over 20 refusals dates unknown	FRG	Sigrid Wagner sister	DM 20,000
KOOS	Maria,4/4/55	Codrului Str.2 apt.7 Timisoara	dates unknown	dates unknown	CANADA	Eric Soltan Koos, husband	$3,700
KIMAUS	Katharina 5/25/57 Hans 10/15/54 Heino 6/28/79 Harold 6/22/79	Giarmata Str. Garii 953 Judetul Timis	1961 19 times subsequently most recently 1982	19 times most recently 1982	FRG	Elisabeth Schoch, Aunt	
LEGO	Elisabeth 11/9/60	Lunga Nr.80 Con.Comloşul-Mare Judet.Timis.	10/10/76 11/78	11/10/77 11/10/79	FRG	Elisabeth Bauer grandaughter	
LOCH	Wilfred 6/18/29 Barbara 9/8/35 Martin 10/17/03 Magdalena 4/24/09	Sts.Romanitie Nr.20,1900 Timisoara-Friedhorf	1964 1970 1/8/80 11/20/81 and 20 others	3/30/79 1980 1981 1982		Mrs. Goerlonde Goetz, daughter	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
LOGDESER	Andreas, 5/14/37 Johanna, 6/23/38 Andreas, 9/14/62 Johanna, 3/17/65 Robert Hans, 6/5/71 Katharina, 4/7/14	2589 Urwegen- Girbova 465 Kreis Karlsburg Alba, Juhia	9/31/81 10/30/81 3/1/83		FRG	Johanna Feyri, mother	DM30,000
LOUIS	Matei [illegible] 10/14/36	Morii str. No. 842 1981 Giarmata Judetul Timis	since 1961	1961 1977 1978 1982	FRG	Magdalena Weber, daughter	
LUNG	Ana,9/25/23 Gerhard Peter Anton 10/21/19 Gerhard Peter,8/29/57	Bd.6 Martie 30 R-1900 Timisoara	6/18/80	dates unknown	FRG	Eva Sailer, sister	
MIRON	Doina, 4/25/57	Str.Bach 1A Sc.C, Ap.52 Sect.2 71436 Bucharest 30	not yet possible		USA	Christian Neculescu	$20,000
NEDELESCU	Emil,7/7/44 Livia,2/14/45 Mihai,5/5/69 Christian, 11/12/74	Calea Grivitei Nr.107, Bl.B Et.I Ap.40 Sektor I R-7000 Bucharest	9/80 10/80 2/81 6/81 1/82 3/82 7/82 2/83	1/81 5/81 7/81 1/82 9/82 3/83	FRG	Uncle, Johann Schmiedigen	
NEUMANN	Margaret 6/18/54 Antje 4/6/77 Hans-Thomas 10/19/80	Nic.Titulescu 27 1900 Timisoara,	10/81 4/82	3/82	FRG	Husband, Hans Neumann	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINA-TION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
PETRUSCU	Mihai, 2/14/53 Dorothea 1/16/56 Mihai Regan 9/19/77 Barbara 3/22/79	Strada Nova 208 Ghimbar 2251 Brasov	7/18/82	7/23/82	FRG	Grandfather & Aunt of Dorothea	
RADULESCU	Germaine 4/24/25 Nicolae 2/3/35	Str. Stirbei Voda #2 Apt. 120, Et III Bucharest	11/81	3 times dates unknown	FRG	Sofia Kirschben Aunt, & others	unknown sum
REIGER	Elisabeth 8/28/39 Wendelin 8/1/32 Anna 6/21/59	Sinmartin Nr. 217 Judet Arad	1978 & Monthly thereafter	dates unknown	FRG	Father, Anton Kempf	DM7,000 per person
RENG	Friedrich, 5/3/41 Magdalena, 7/1/47 Dietmar, 7/20/70 Arno, 8/25/73	Bd. Leo Salajan 10/16a Sc. B, etaj 7, ap. 24 1900 Timisoara	1961 1962 1964 4/6/77 8/80 5/20/81 (#3126) 9/1/81 (#5042) 1982	4/20/77 4/81 (#7379)	FRG	Peter Bottyen, uncle	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
RENG	Rosalia, 5/21/09	Str. Circum- ualatiunii 29/6 ap,106 judetul Timis	1961 1962 1964 4/6/77 8/80 5/20/81 (#3126) 9/1/81 (#5042) 1982	 4/20/77 4/81 (#7379)	FRG	Peter Bottyen, brother	
ROTH	Elisabeth 9/14/14	2463 Seica Mare 466 Jud Sibiu	dates unknown	dates unknown	FRG	Daughter, grandson	
SAUER	Erika, 11/30/33 Kurt, 8/21/31 Volker, 11/2/59 Juergen, 2/7/62	Alex. Vlahuta 7 R2400 Sibiu	1/19/65 /70 3/19/77 7/80	1966 11/8/70 11/81 9/26/81 11/81	FRG	Roswitha Froehlich, sister	
SCHNEIDER	Sebastian 9/24/07 Anna 11/ 8/06 Christof 12/22/33 Barbara 2/29/40 Walter 11/17/63 Erich 2/10/66	Giarmata Str. Violor 394 judetul Timis	9 times between 1965 & 1982	9 times dates unknown	FRG	Daughter, Anna Schaidr	
SCHULLER	Renata 3/13/57 Edith 12/4/61	2463 Seica Mare 122 Jud Sibiu	dates unknown	dates unknown	FRG	Aunt, Uncle Cousins	
SOLLNER	Maria,5/16/34 Martin,2/22/30 Annemarie 6/9/55 Manfred,11/8/69	Communa Sin- martin nr. 11, Judet Arad,	1/14/79 2/17/79 5/27/82 7/21/79 9/20/79 2/10/79 2/25/80 8/19/80 10/7/80 11/7/81 2/17/82 7/27/82 2/1/83 4/19/83	12/3/81 (reg.No. 43092)	FRG	Maria Fackelman, mother	

L	LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINA-TION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC TAX
R	VASILESCU	Radu,1/25/52	Soseava Iancului nr. 37, Bloc 103 B.etaj 12 apt.46 73376 Bucharest	2/81 12/9/81 7/5/82 2/16/83	9/28/81 1/5/82 8/6/82 2/19/83	U.S.A.	Octavian Chiculescu, Uncle	
RC SA	VRABIE	Mihail Conaliu 1/4/39 Claudia,4/10/74	Aleea Cimpul cuFlori No.2, Bloc D27 Apt.59 6 District Bucharest	3/6/81	2/10/81 3/12/83	USA	Elena Vrabie, wife	$15,
S	WESTER	Dittmar Klaus 6/7/44 Maria 3/27/44 Beatrice 6/18/71	Blvd.Lenin 8 apt.7 R-2200 Brasov	1970 annually, last in 1983	1970, 1983 & 10 times in between	FRG	Hellmar Wester, brother	
	WOLF	Sieglinde 2/28/60	1966 Comlosul Lunga 126 Jud-Timis	6/80 26 subsequent applications	dates unknown	FRG	Husband Werner Wolf	D.M. 20,0
S								
SO								

APPENDIX IB

PRIORITY CASES:

LONG DELAYS

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDU. TAX
BARTH	Anne-Marie 8/9/55 Adam 7/4/49 Karin 3/14/76 Dietlinde 8/3/81	Giarmata 278 judetul Timis	1961	1964 1967 1981 1982 1983	FRG	Eva Tyotsits, sister	
ENGELMANN	Andrei 10/28/37 Magdalena-Katharina 1/10/33	Johannisfeld 262 jude. Timis	1972	Seven refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Nikolaus Engelmann, son	
FARKAS	Eugen 3/31/36 Ana 3/20/58 Bernhard Bruno	communa Voitena 444 judetul Timis	1972	Seven refusals, dates unknown.	FRG	Maria Hufflotz, sister	
FROM	Nikolaus 4/14/29 Ana 11/29/32	communa Voitena 444 judetul Timis	1972	Seven refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Maria Hufflotz, daughter	
FUNK	Peter 2/10/29 Eva 4/6/29 Ingrid 12/10/68	1981 Giarmata 278 judetul Timis	1962		FRG	daughter and sister, Katharina Keltor	
GABRIEL	Adam 12/24/36 Charlotte 8/5/41 Udo 3/9/64 Frank 3/15/68 Nikolaus 2/26/1897	Vivar 54 Judétul Timis	4/15/66	11/20/80	FRG	Peter Waldner	
GHERDA	Eugen 3/21/22 Elena Maria 4/3/28 Lucian 5/11/51 Agneta Ekaterina 3/15/55	Frasinului 3 Sc Bap.20 1900 Timisoara	1962	1969 1973 1978	FRG	Father and brother, Konstantin Gherda	
GHERDA	Tiberiu 5/4/55 Olimpia 2/20/56 Robert b. 1980	Str.Barnutiu 46 1900 Timisoara	1962	1969 1973 1978 1982	FRG	Father-Konstantin Gherda	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
GOSCHY	Josef 12/19/31 Elisabeth 11/18/38 Josef 4/10/59 Ewald 2/4/62	Sinandrei NR 525 Jud. Timis	1964 12/70 1977 7/80	1965 1972 1979	FRG	Agnes Pinzhoffer	
GRIESS	Mariana Ignatz	1981 Giarmata Nr. 863 jud. Timis	1969	8 refusals dates unknown	FRG	Peter Roser Mathias Rossler	
KILIAN	Matein 7/10/30 Varvara 4/17/34 Vorlevt 5/30/58	Giarmata VII186 Jud. Timis	1965	7 refusals dates unknown	FRG	Berta Kilian	
KRAMER	Matei 10/2/29 Susana 4/20/32 Ana Loris 9/8/01	Giarmata Str. Morii No. 759 Jud.Timis	Several applications since 1962		FRG	Children Suzanne Loris and Matei Kramer	

also 11 refusals of a tourist passport to visit relatives

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
KREUTER	Nikolaus 8/21/28 Elisabeta 1/13/32 Albinger, Ana 12/21/09	Giarmata 215 judetul Timis	1962 and every year subsequent	Twelve times, three between 1980 and 1983, dates unknown	FRG	Elisabeta Schlosser, Suck, daughters	
KRONENBERGER	Petru b.1893 Magdalena 7/5/54 Sabine 7/3/75 Harald 3/31/80	1981 Giarmata 245 judetul Timis	1964	Eight refusals dates unknown	FRG	Nikolaus Weldi, brother	
LAY RESOLVED	Johann 2/16/26 [illegible] Peter 9/1/52	Communa Sacalza Str.1 No 38 Jud.Timis	1964	1965 and several times subsequently	FRG	Magdalena Thierjung mother	
LIND	Thomas 10/10/15 Katharina 11/24/12	Covaci 217 Jud. Timis	1964	1965	FRG	Sister	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC TAX
LORIS	Anton 3/22/36 Elisabeta 5/20/17	1981 Giarmata 104 judetul Timis	1970 subsequently dates unknown	Nine refusals dates unknown	FRG	Katharina Loris, wife	
MARTIN	Michael 3/02/35 Anna 6/8/36 Elfrieda 6/10/864 Alfred 3/20/59 Elvine 9/5/64	1981 Giarmata 203	1972 1977 1978 1980 1982	Nine refusals dates unknown	FRG	Gertruda Schicht mother	
MUHLBACH	Petru 5/23/13	1935Lenauheim 196 judetul Timis	1967 and weekly since 1/83	Eight refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Helmine Holz, daughter	
MULLER	Christof Magdalena	1955 Lenauheim 196 judetul Timis	1969	eight refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Helmine Holz, daughter	
MULLER	Nikolaus 4/9/31 Elisabeth 12/30/32 Elisabeth 11/19/60	Calea Torontalului 27 Timisoara	1972 Summer/80 every month subsequently	1973	FRG	Barbara Rohrich, sister	
NEISS	Julius 2/8/22 Barbara 10/19/29 Manfred 12/23/52 Ecaterina 2/12/57 Heidi 6/18/79	communa Becicherecul Mic-Satul Dudestii Noi 239 judetul Timis	1962 1971 1977 1978 1982	1963 1972 1977 1/1983	FRG	Julius Neiss, son	
NIX	[illegible]2 [illegible]/16/54 Eleanora Eva 6/25/75	Str. Nova 98 Giarmata Jud. Timis	1961		FRG	Marianna Wagner Mother	
ORTH	Anna Georg	1981 Giarmata Str. Xona viv.42 judet Timis	1963	13 refusals, dates unknown		Kramer Susanna	
REMMEL	Anton 3/11/10 Eva 1/27/29 Barbara 9/25/02	1961 Simpetra Mic Nr70 Judetul Timis	1960	Seven times, dates unknown	FRG	Walter Remmel, son	

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
ROSNER	Erna Josef Manfred Lothar	1961 Simpetru Mic Nr. 70 judetul Timis	1963	13 refusals dates unknown	FRG	Kramer Susanna	
ROSNER	RESOLVED [illegible]/27 [illegible] Franz 3/5/1899	Str.Noua 98	1961		FRG	Marianna Wagner Mother	
RUTTNER	Peter 3/11/11 Maria 10/28/20	1981 Giarmata Str.Principala 443 judetul Timis	1961	1962 1963 1980 1981 1982	FRG	Erna Hay, daughter	
SCHICHT	Nicolae 6/20/09	comuna 1983 Bencec de Sus 218 judetul Timis	1972	1974 1977 1978 1980 1982	FRG	Gertruda Schicht, wife	
SCHILLER	Eva 12/8/27 Margareta 1/23/12	Giarmata 172 judetul Timis	1961	1964 1967 1975 1981 1982 1983	FRG	Eva Tyositz, daughter	
SCHIPPER	Johann 2/11/27 Barbara 1/29/21 Barbara 11/10/01 Helmut 2/8/66	Com.Biled Nr.91 Uihei Judet.Timis	1970 1980	1971	FRG	Eva Haag daughter	
SCHLOSSER	Jakob 5/29/13 Barbara 9/14/18	Giarmata 755 judetul Timis	1962 1966 1969 1972	dates unknown	FRG	Josef Schlosser, son	
SCHMIDT	Ewald 10/7/54 Elvine 10/19/57 Helmut 8/21/82	Str.Nicolae Andreescu 150 1900,Timisoara VII judetul Timis	1961 1/17/80 every week subsequently	Most recent 5/82	FRG	Leopoldine Hartmann grandmother	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC TAX
SCHMIDT	Erna 7/5/56 Francisc 5/10/53	Str. Nicolae Ardreescu 150 1900 Timisoara VII	1965	7 refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Leopoldine Hartmann, grandmother	
SCHNEIDER	Adam 2/4/26 Ecaterina 12/14/27 Matei 4/9/59	1981 Giarmata Nr.3 Jud. Timis	1963	9 refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Halmen, Annemari (daughter)	
SCHNEIDER	Annemari 2/26/55 Michael 6/1/50 Evelin 12/2/74	Giarmata No. 950 Jud. Timis		1962	FRG	Josef & Anne Zeich	
SCHUMMER	Matei 7/15/16 Rosina 7/22/20 Josef 11/16/44 Margareta 5/31/54 Claudia Iris 4/19/71 Harold Erich 7/3/73	Andrei Nicolaescu Nr.36Timisoara	1964		FRG	Rosalia	
SINK	Ioan 11/1/24 Mariana 4/22/31 Edgar 6/17/72 Silke 4/28/76	1981 Giarmata 854 Judetul Timis	1969	Nine times refused, dates unknown	FRG	Anna Kassnel, daughter	
STEFAN	Ion 3/12/28 Ecaterina 3/30/29 Ecaterina 8/24/07 Eva Janch 4/20/57 Jósif Janch 1/15/57	1981 Giarmata No.187 Jud.Timis		1961	FRG	Mathias Stephen (son)	
STEFAN,	Jakob 8/28/1890 Matei 2/16/15 Ecaterina 7/22/22	Giarmata No.572 Jud. Timis		1961	FRG	Jakob Stephen (son)	
WEISS,	Fulop 6/29/05 Margareta 4/15/09	Covaci 71 Judetul Timis	1972 summer /80 every month subsequently	1973 1979	FRG	Barbara Rohrich, daughter	
WELDI	Francisc 9/2/33 Ana-Maria 8/16/33 Geier b. 1914	1981 Giarmata 273 judetul Timis	1964	Eight refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Nikolaus Weldi,	
WENZEL	Etelca 10/17/34 Iosif 6/11/32 Ramona 10/20/67	Str. Nicolae Andreescu, 15 1900 Timisoara VII judetul Timis	1961 1/17/80 every week subsequently		FRG	Leopoldine Hartmann, mother	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
WOLF	Manfred 7/2/50 Elfriede 11/20/52 Michael 3/21/74 Monika 6/27/77	1865 Sinnicolaul Mare-Statia Electrica Judetul Timis	1960	Seven times dates unknown	FRG	Walter Remmel, brother	
ZEICH	Georg 7/8/29 Eva 11/22/29	Giarmata No.950 Jud. Timis		1962	FRG	Josef & Anna Zeich (Georg's Parents)	

APPENDIX II

OTHER APPEALS
RECEIVED IN THE
LAST 90 DAYS
(APRIL-JUNE 1983)

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
BROOS	Kurt-Fritz Maria-Sigrid Corina	9 Mai St. 24 Sibiu Hermannstadt	1/21/71
BRAUN	Sofia-Emilia	9 Mai St. 24 Sibiu Hermannstadt	5/31/77
MAYER	Wilhelm Luisa Willi Rudolf Luisa	Str. Haripiai No. 6 Scara B ap. Z.R. 1900 Timisoara Colea/Sagului jud. Timis	Date Unknown
MAYER,	Katharina	Spl.T Vladamirescu 32 1900 Timisoara	10/5/78
GYORBIRO	Adelheid Julius Alexandra	Plata Romanilor 8 Timisoara	4/79
ORNER	Jakob	Zorilor 12 1800 Lugoj jud. Timis	1981
STIRNER	Heinrich Ada Gerhard	Str. 23 August 8 2475 Agnita jud. Sibiu	12/80
TELEKI	Mihaly	Str. Marcisalor 4 4300 T6 Mures	—
USINEVICIU	Elena-Lelioara	Str. Matei Basarab 100 Rimnicu-Sarat jud. Buzau	8/82-short forms
TUTUNARU	Corina	Faurei Str. 5 Bloc C ap. 143 Bucharest	10/80
HAMES	Anna	Str. Triumfului 3 Timisoara	3/20/80
FEISTHAMMEL		1468 Teremia-Mica 18 juda. Timis	4/77
MARTIN	Aurelia Frederic Aloisia	Str. GH. Lazar 21 Bloc F1, Scara A ap.15 Timisoara	10/79

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
PAUN	Loria Mihaela	Str. Minotaurului 71 Sec. 5 Bucharest	8/80
KIRCHGAESSNER	Peter Helen Herbert	1955 Lenauheim No. 433 jud. Timis	Unknown
BEITZ	Elisabeth Johann	Str. Snagor 25 Timisoara	1964
LUPULESCU	Laia	Str. Cerna nr. 19 Timisoara	1980
STOIADIN	Baltazar Anna Alfred Roswita	Giarmata, str. Sifoanelor Nr. 339 judetul Timis	1961
BIEBER	Katherina Joseph Monika Erwin	Calea Sagului 74 ap. 26 1900 Timisoara	1/13/64
KNOEBEL	Maria Alfred Arno	Str. snagor 25 Timisoara	1964
MUSSLER	Ingrid Erwin Rosa	Str. J Vladimirescu 4 1953 Jimbolia jud. Timis	4/26/81
HAAS,	Johan	Giarmata No. 586 judetul Timis	8/14/81
VOGELHUBER	Georg	Str. 10, No. 31a Kreis Hermannstadt Grossau, Sibiu	8/81
DAN	Catalin Carmen Matei	Str. Radu Cristian Nr. 4 Et. 1 Ap. 7 Bucharest	5/23/81
SCHMIDT	Elisabeta Jakob Margareta Kristine Barbara	Giarmata Str. Johann 1107 Timis	1975
RUZICSKA	Barbara	Giarmata Str. Johann 1107 Timis	1975

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
SEHL,	Anna	Giarmata 318 judetul Timis	1959
NIKLAS	Anneliese	Comuna Peciul Nov 436 judetul Timis	9/81
PELGER	Susanne	2442 Sura-Mica 94	8/28/81
KARSAI	Zoltan	B'dul Lenin 25 Cluj-Napoca	Summer 1980
POPESCU	Ioan Viorica Radu Ecaterina	Str. General Carnat 17 Bucharest Sect. 1	6/7/80
NEISMANDL	Nicolae Ana Ana	Comuna Tomnatic 713 judetul Timis	1978
FLAGNER	Gerlinde Hans	Str. Abatoruui 8 R-3125 Mediasch jud. Sibiu	Unknown
ROEMERS	Roland Erika Arno	2221 Risnov strada Pieriton 62 jud. Brasov District Kronstadt	Unknown
SAUSMANN	Josef Ecaterina	Str. GH.DOJA Nr.1 1900 Timisoara	1/16/79
FISCHER		Bul. 8 Mai 139 Or. Sacele jud. Brasov	10/4/82
ENACHESCU	Cristian	Str. Serdarului 13 Bloc 48, ap. 211 Bucharest sector 1	11/2/81
KUMHER	Franz Magdalena	Orawiza Str. Mircea 3 jud. severin	Unknown
ZETTO	Franz Marianne	Lugorsh str. Unisi 1.	Unknown

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
MICHELBACH	Adolf Heidrun Rainer Renate-Alice	1985 Masloc 279 jud. Timis	12/4/75
SEILER	Margareta	1985 Masloc 279 jud. Timis	12/4/75
BOTTESCH,	Johann Maria Astrid Renate	Str. Deva 31 R-2400 Sibiu	11/22/80
KESSLER	Edda	Str. 13 Decembrie Nr. 30 ap. 17 1900 Timisoara	4/80
DEPNER	Johann Sara Johann, Jr.	3042 Ticusi 457 judetal Brasov	11/7/78
PETRUS	Emilia Andrei	Str. J.J. Rousseau 5 ap. 3 3400 Cluj	1981
LIPPET	Ioan Margaretha	1963 Perism 553 judet Timis	10/14/82
LOEW	Emma Werner Herbert	Str. Justitiei, 14, jud. Sibin	8/78
SCHUMM	Vasile Rolf Emmy Anneliese	Str. Justitiei 14 jud. Sibin	8/78
CZAKO	Josef Julianna	3050 Sighisoara Str. Plopilor 24, et. 3, ap. 14	2/79
SCHMIDT	Anneliese	R-2458 Apoldul de sus Nr. 352 judetul Sibin	—

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
ADORIAN	Sofia Gabriela Virgil Simona	74635 Aleea Blocurilos 4 Bloc. M 42 Et.4 Ap. 17 Sec.4	1980
BINDER RESOLVED	Anneliese	Str. Labirint 12 Apt. 59 Circumvaltinuii 3 1900 Timisoara	4/4/81
BRANTSCH	Udo Rosemarie Udo Rolf	2261 Sercaia 198 Kreis Brasov	2/24/77
COCRON	Elisabeta	Comuna Tomnatic 693 Judetul Timis	1975
STEFANI	Richard Marianne Christian Uwe	Str. Scoala de Inot 18 2400 Sibiu	11/19/79
STREITMATTER	Carol	Str. Brincoveanu 12 Lugoj	1979
TRENDLER	Michael Maria Johann Charlotte Thomas Johann Maria Ignatz Margaretha Schwarz, Anna	str. Cehov 17 1900 Timisoara	unknown
URBAN	Nikolaus Elisabetha Knobl, Wiltsaud	Str. Snagov 25 1900 Timisoara	1965

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
FREKOT	Andreas Ewa Ernst Annemarie Sonja	Bulevardul Plavati 110 1900 Timisoara	unknown
FRIEDRICH	Wilhelm Hermine Bruno	Str, Tomas Ionescu 4 Medias	5/12/81
FROMBACH	Elisabeta Ioan Elisabetha Ioan Erika Helene	Giarmata 318 Judetul Timis	1959
GARTNER	Katarina	1938 Peciul- Nou Nr.175 Judetul Timis	unknown
GEMES	Alexander Barbara	1954 Grabati Nr. 226 Jud-Timis	6/1981
HEIB	Nikolaus Katarina Ewald Anneliese	Str. Tigrului 45 1900 Timisoara	3/79
KERST	Johann Herta Dietmar	Dinicu Golescu Str.4 2400 Sibiu Judetul Sibiu	11/17/76
KLEIN	Anna-Theresia Tiberiu	Sucesva 14 Offic. Post 8 1900 Timisoara	1/29/82

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
KLUSCH	Wolfgang Peter Anneliese Manfred	Calugareni Str.5 2400 Sibiu	1/78
KOCH	Dr.Friedrich Matthias Angelika Susanne	unknown	unknown
KRAFFT	Michael	Str. Caraiman 44 R-2221 Jud. Brasov	11/4/81
KRAUSS	Inge Dittmar Udo	Neculuta Str.14 2400 Sibiu	3/81
LENHARDT	Hans Glas Maria	1938 Peciul- Nou 175 Judet, Timis	1980
MIESS	Andreas Hildegard	Str. Caraiman 19 R-2221 Risnov	10/12/79
MUELLER	Helmut Norma	HipodromIII bloc 89 apt. 32 2400 Sibiu	1979
MULLER	Sigrid Fritz UteChrista ElkeHeide	Str. Prof. Span Nr. 1 Sibiu	2/78
MULLER	Wilhelm Elisabeth Wilhelm Lisbeth Ditmar Krista Anita Bernd	Str. Apararii 3 2437 Cisnadie	1981
NEUBAUER	Martin Katharina Hildemarie Michael Gerlinde	Tirnavioara 120 3158 Copsa Mica Judetul Sibiu	unknown

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
POLLING	Lotte Helmutt Bettina Martina	comuna Tomatic 199 judetul Timis	1969
ROTH	Rozalia Nicolae Horst	comuna Tomatic judetul Timis	1969
ROTH	Francisc Magdalena	comuna Tomatic 232 judetul Timis	1969
ROTH RESOLVED	Hilda Johann Hans Werner Ortwin	Ormenis 29 Judetul Mures 3088	unknown
SCHENKER RESOLVED	Sofia Sofia	2417 Miercurea- Sibiu Nr.16 judetul Sibiu	9/80
SCHMIDT	Christine Margareta Jakob Elisabeta Barbara	1911 Giarmata Str. Johann 1107 judetul Timis	1975
SCHMIDT	Hildegard	Calugareall Str.5 2400 Sibiu	12/80
SCHREIBER	Peter Margareta Helmuth Hartwig Maria	comuno Tomatic judetul Timis	1976
SCHULZ	Dietmar	Str. Filipescu 5 1900 Timisoara	9/82
SKERBEK	Walter Dora Gudrun	Str. Nova 208 Ghimbav 2251 Brasov	7/18/82

APPENDIX III

APPEALS RECEIVED

IN 1984

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
ACKERMANN, Josef, Susana, Ewald,	Giarmata
ALBINGER, Ecaterina	Giarmata
ALBINGER, Matei, Ecaterina	Giarmata
ALBINGER, Mathias, Suzanne, Edeltraud, Elisabeth (Buch), Mathias (Buch), Christoph (Buch).	Pishcia
ALTMAYER, Petru, Elisabeth, Walter, Eva.	Lenauheim
ANHEUR, Ecaterina, Johann, Rita	Peciul Nou
ANDRESCU, Mihal	Bucharest
ARZ, Johann, Kurt	Medias
ARZ, Karl, Karin	Agnetheln
AUBERMANN, Ecaterina, Matei, Erwin.	Peciul Nou
AUDI, Nicolae, Rozalia	Jimbolia
BARNA, Viorel	Oradea
BARTH, Waldtraud, Franz, Thomas, Andrea	Timisoara
BASTING, Nicolae, Eva	Giarmata
BAUER, Claudia, Werner	Masloc
BECKER, Elisabeth, Josef, Katharina, Adelheit, Arthur	Peciul Nou
BECKER, Hans, Helmut, Anna, Harta, Gerlinde, Marianne, Bruno, Astrid.	Vulcan
BEISSMAN, Stefan, Gerlinde, Bettina	Pischia
BEISSMANN, Stefan, Anna, Elisabeth (Jost)	Timisoara
BENEDEK, Pavel, Tatiana	Colentina
BERENZ, Nicolae, Katharina, Nicolae, Jr.	Sampetro
BIEBER, Stefan, Anna, Stefan, Elke	Peciul Nou

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
BINDER, Stefan, Veronika, Anton, Elisabeth, Elvine, Brunehilde.	Iecea Mare
BOCK, Paul, Regina,Karol, Paul Renate	Communa Selimberg
BRANDL, Veronika, Klaus Ulrich, Claudia, Karla, Horst, Gunter.	Iecea Mare
BRANDL, Victoria, Otto, Elke, Bruno	Termina Mare
BRANDL, Werner, Renate, Ralf, Uwe	Peciul Nou
BRAUN, Dieter, Rita, Karl	
BERGERMEISTER, Gerlinde, Hans	Moravita
CAPOTA, Petre	Bucharest
CHERCIU, Mirella	Timisoara
CHRISTIAN, Matthias, Susanna, Matthias	Peciu Nou
COCRON, Elisabeth	Tomnatic
CZIVAY, Nikolaus, Elisabeth, Anna, Elisabeth (Stein) Mathias (Stein).	Peciu Nou
DAIBEL, Helmut, Gertrud.	Mediasch
DANCI, Margareta, Eugenia.	Arad
DENGEL, Elisabeth, Dieter, Edith	Strada Ogorului
DIAN, Francisc, Anna, Annemarie (Seeger) Herbert (Seeger), Silvia (Seeger), Elisabeth (Anheuer).	Peciu Nou
DOBRESCU, Franziska, Johann, Dietmar Darius.	Timisoara
EBINGER, Peter, Eva.	Bulgarus
EBNER, Josif, Katharina, Josif, Anne Marie (Tasch).	Giarmata
EICHINGER, Petru, Barbara, Anna (Poyte), Ion (Poyte) Eva (Poyte)	Giarmata
ENGELMAN, Ecaterina	Peciu Nou
ESPERSCHIDT, Andreas, Annaliese, Herta.	Sinpetru Mare

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCENCE
ESPERSCHIDT, Nikolaus, Hilde, Gundolf, Egbert.	Tomnatic
FANDER, Anton, Katherina, Anton,Jr.,Elisabetha, Werner.	Masloc
FARCAS, Paul, Franziska.	Peciu
FERCH, Margareta. Elisabeth, Johann, Sigelhind, Angela, Nikolaus Lux.	Jud. Timis
FIGULI, Martin, Agneta, Martin, Anna.	Com Slimnic
FORTLER, Valentin, Katherina, Walter, Gerhard.	Sanmihaiul
FRANK, Ecaterina, Teresia.	Timisoara
FRANK, Rosalia.	Janova
FRANZEN, Mathias, Barbara	Jimbolia/Banat
FREKOT, Andreas, Ewa, Ernst, Annemarie, Sonja.	Timisoara
FREY, Margareta	Masloc
FROMBACH, Renate, Herbert, Alexandra.	Sanandre
GADELMEIER, Hermine, Josef, Heinz, Christa, Margarete (Schemmel) Mark.	
GARTNER, Ioan, Susanna, Eduard.	Giamata
GAUG, Edith, Werner, Alfred.	Sagu
GEHL, Horst, Maria, Helga, Volker (Mehrbrot), Dagmar (Mehrbrot).	Sibiu
GEIER, Elisabeta, Josif, Ecaterina, Hildegard, Anita.	Giarmata
GEIER, Peter, Elisabeth, Freddy, Gunther.	Giamata
GERBER, Francisc, Hella, Josif (Csaftary), Magdalena (Csaftary).	Nichidorf
GERING, Josef, Katharina.	Giarmata
GIRSCHT, Friedrich, Johanna, Sofia.	Medias

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
GLASS, Eva. Hedwig, Adam, Melitta, Harald (Ganger).	Varias
GOTZ, Elisabeth, Elisabeth.	Pischia
GOTZ, Eva, Francisc.	Pishcia
GRIFFATON, Josif, Ecaterina, Jacob (Bastien), Francisca (Bastien).	Tomnatic
GRIFFATON, Mariana, Ralf	Timisoara
GREIF, Petru, Magdalena, Petru, Elfriede, Armin, Arnold.	Giarmata
GRIESS, Mariana, Ignatz.	Giarmata
GROSS, Peter, Magdalena.	Giarmata
GUNI, Andreas, Ilse, Adolf, Andreas	Tirnaveni
GUSAN, Ion, Zitta, Carol, Elena.	Giarmata
HARRAR, Manfred, Elvine, Magdalena.	Tomnatic
HEIDENFELDER, Michael, Ecaterina, Egmont, Brigitte.	Timisoara
HENNING, Gerlinde, Wilhelm.	Medias
HERMANN, Petru, Elisabeta.	Benecul de Sus
HERMANN, Petru Jr., Marianna, Andrea.	Timisoara
HERZ, Petru, Magdalena.	Giarmata
HIRTH, Walter, Ana, Heribert, Heike.	Timisoara
HOCHST, Margareta, Matei.	Com. Sacalaz
HOLZ, Hertha, Peter.	Timisoara
HUBER, Elisabeta, Hans, Horst.	Ion Slavici
HUBERT, Anna, Eugen.	Suceava
HUGEL, Mihail Margareta, Alfred.	Giarmata
HUGEL, Elisabetha.	Giarmata
HUMMEL, Ioan, Hedwiga.	Jud. Timis

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
JERCHER, Leonhard, Margareta.	Timisoara
JOST, Erna, Walter.	Giarmata
JUST, Emil, Ella.	Timisoara
KAISER, Franz, Eva, Matei.	Giarmata
KARL, Rosemarie.	Arad
KARSAI, Zoltan.	Cluj
KASNEL, Marianne, Katarina (Schneider), Annemarie (Warres), Johann (Warres).	Giarmata
KASNEL, Johan, Elisabeth, Josef.	Giarmata
KASSA, Herbert, Maria, Brunhilde, Siegfried, Helga.	Timisoara
KASZNEL, Eva, Josif.	Giarmata
KELETI, Anton, Sidonia, Herman, Anton Erich, Franz Friedrich, Hedwig, Aris Sebastian, Eduard.	Chizatau
KELTER, Ana, Ion, Christa.	Giarmata
KERN, Laurentius, Katherina, Ioan (Schmidt).	Giarmata
KILCHER, Johann, Eva, Fredy.	Jud. Timis
KILIAN, Mateiu, Varvara, Norbert.	Jud. Timis
KILZER, Erna, Mathias.	Jud. Timis
KIRTZ, Franz, Waltraud.	Timisoara
KLEER, Antonia, Ecaterina, Gerlinde.	Lovrin
KLEMENS, Walter, Annemaria, Harald, Heine.	Timisoara
KLEMENS, Herbert, Elisabeth, Elisabeth.	Jud. Timis
KLEIN, Elisabeth, Mihai, Robert, Rodica.	Jud. Timis

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
KLEITSCH, Peter, Elisabeth, Robi, Kathalin, Melinda, Maria Elisabetha (Harrar).	Tomnatic
KONIG, Matei, Anna.	Pischia
KRACHTUS, Josef, Christine.	Teremia
KRAMCZYNSKI, Adeltraub, Katharina, Peter, Renate, Detlef.	Giamatra
KRAMER, Ecaterina, Petru, Maria, Adriana, Christian.	Giarmata
KRAUS, Erich-Johann, Mathilde, Elke, Hans Erich.	Jud. Sibiu
KREISS, Katharina, Nicolae.	Biled
KRENCZLEIN, Helena	Masloc
KRUG, Josef, Rosalia.	Janova
KUMAUS, Petru, Ecaterina.	Giamatra
KUMAUS, Marianne, Johann, Erwin, Hans.	Jud. Timis
KUMAUSZ, Peter, Barbara.	Giamatra
KUNZ, Anna, Ioan, Gerda, Hermine, Elizabeth (Gotz).	Pischia
LAFLEUR, Anna, Nicolae, Nicolae, Jr.	Jimbolia
LANGER, Johann, Sofia.	Jud. Brosov
LAUB, Hans, Elena, Ewald.	Jimbolia
LAUER, Ion, Elisabeta.	Gizela
LAUER, Malvine, Erwin.	Timisoara
LIKHAUB, Eva. Eva, Ignatz (Kirth).	Giarmata
LINZ, Matei, Ana.	Giarmata
LUCZAY, Ottilie, Elisabeth, Sven-Markus.	Timisoara
LUIGI, Teodorescu, Pellegrino.	Bucharest
LUPOIAN, Adela, Mircea, Mihai Radu	Timisoara
LUSTIG, Georg, Marta, Gertrude.	

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
LUX, Nicolae, Susana, Anna, Barbara.	Giarmata
MARX, Anna, Ecaterina.	Peciul Nou
MAURER, Erica, Franz, Oswald, Arlette.	Pischia
MAUS, Elisabeta.	Tomnatic
MAYER, Barbara, Nikolaus, Ferdinand, Helmut, Ilse.	Jimbolia
MAYER, Ecaterina, Peter, Magdalena.	Giarmata
MELMER, Hannelore, Nikolaus, Richard, Karin.	Timisoara
MICHELS, Francise Nicolae, Anna Teresia.	Giarmata
MOLITOR, Jakob, Michai, Matei, Ioan, Hedwiga.	Comuna Sacalaz
MUHLBACK, Walter, Erika, Robert, Monika.	Jimbolia
MULLER, Christof, Magdalena.	Giarmata
NEIDENBACH, Hildegard, Johann, Horst Hans, Brigitte.	Jimbolia
NIESS, Johann, Magdalena, Anna.	Arad
NIKLAS, Anneliese.	Peciul Nou
NIKLAS, Norbert, Elisabeth, Regine, Martina.	Peciul Nou
NIX, Johann, Katharina, Elisabeth, Christiane, Ulrike, Giarmata.	Giarmata
NOLL, Margareta, Anton, Dietmar, Christine, Elisabeta.	Tomnatic
NOVAK, Ioan, Barbara, Norbert, Sepp, Rosalia.	Arad
NOVER, Adam, Elisabetha, Horst, Denis, Agathe.	
ONGHERTH, Johann, Else Renate, Luise Waltraut, Elfriede Ilse, Heide Lore, Edouard Hans.	Siebenburgen
ORTINAU, Ioan, Mariana, Ingrid, Hans, Eva (Jost)	Sacalaz

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
ORTH, Anna, Georg.	Giarmata
PALIMARIU, Angela, Viorel, Robert, Claudia.	
PELGER, Susanne.	Sura-Mica
PETRI, Georg, Margareta.	Giarmata
PFLANZER, Josef, Barbar.	Grancieri
PIERRE, Nicolae, Franziska, Elisabeta (Kelsch).	
POLEN, Emma Helena, Jacob. Melitta, Herbert (Krachtus).	Tomnatic
PRINZ, Ioan, Ecaterina, Gerhard, Melitta, Patrick.	Masloc
PROBST, Peter, Rosemarie, Nicolae (Lego) Ana (Lego), Annemarie (Lego), Gertrude (Loser), Ana (Engel).	Giarmata
RADU, Simion, Didi, Catalin, Cathlin.	Bucharest
REDL, Hildegard, Horst, Heidelinde Jasmine.	Iecea Mare
REGENT, Josef, Anna.	Giarmata
REISZ, Cristof, Mariana.	Giarmata
REMMEL, Anton, Eva, Barbara.	Simpetru-Mic
RENNON, Francisc, Ecaterina, Nicolae, Monica, Elke, Edeltraud.	Tomnatic
REITER, Anna, Karl, Erike, Margareta.	Iecea Mare
RENOTH, Eva, Franz, Monika, Franz.	Giarmata
ROSENAUER, Barbara, Ioan, Christina Karin, Barbara Hummerl.	Stelelor
ROSNER, Erna, Josef, Manfred, Lothar.	Peciul Nou
ROTH, Heidrun, Erich.	Giarmata
ROTH, Maria, Jakob, Annemarie.	Sanandrei
RUCKERT, SUsanna, Josef, Maria, Helmut.	Giarmata
RUMESZ, Andreas, Elisabeth, Roland.	Recas

EMIGRRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
SCHAWILJE, Hans, Erna.	Giarmata
SCHELL, Peter, Victoria.	Sannicolaul Mare
SCHEMMEL, Petra, Manfred.	
SCHILLER, Margarete, Rheinhold, Wolfgand, Henriette.	
SCHIROKMANN, Anna.	Vizejdia
SCHLAUCH, Nikolae, Anna, Peter, Beate.	
SCHMIDT, Anton, Wilhelmine, Erich Roland	Timisoara
SCHMIDT, Elisabetha.	Benecul
SCHMIDT, Erna, Francisc, Cristine.	Giarmata
SCHMIDT, Johann, Barbara.	Jimbolia
SCHMIDT, Josif, Ecaterina.	Timisoara
SCHMIDT, Martin, Valeria, Ernst.	Jimbolia
SCHMIDT, Susana, Anton	Giarmata
SCHMIDTZ, Ioan, Eva.	Simpetru Mic
SCHNEIDER, Adam, Matei, Ecaterina.	Giarmata
SCHNEIDER, Francisc, Charlotta, Edith.	Timisoara
SCHNEIDER, Pavel, Barbara.	Giarmata
SCHONTHAL, Elisabeta, Johann, Ewald.	Giarmata
SCHUBKEGEL, Andreas, Katharina, Andreas, Maria, Adelheid.	Semlac
SCHUCH, Jakob, Maria.	Simpetru Mare
SCHUH, Marian.	Com. Secusigiu
SCHUMMER, Gerlinde, Nicolae, Dieter Klaus, Iolanda (Hepp).	Zaharina
SCHUMMER, Matei, Rosina, Josef, Margareta.	Timisoara
SCHWEITZER, Werner, Annemarie, Erich.	Peciul Nou
SCHWENDER, Anna, Wilhelm.	Giarmata

EMIGRATION APPLICATION	RESIDENCE
SCHWIGERATH, Nicolae, Eva.	Ionel
SEEGER, Ion, Ecaterina, Horst.	Peciul Nou
SEHLER, Mihai, Susana.	Giarmata
SEIBERT, Renate,	Strada Islaz
SONN, Steffen, Susanna.	Peciul Nou
STEINER, Franz, Elisabeta, Rita, Monika.	Arad
SOREG, Josef, Anna-Katherina.	Ionel
SPECK, Elisabeth.	Giarmata
SPITZ, Franz, Elisabetha, Melitta, Jutta.	Jimbolia
STAMP, Ilse, Gerhard.	Sibiu
STRAUB, Josef, Margaret, Roland, Anita.	Oradea
STREITMATTER, Carol, Czeiger, Lugoj.	Lugoy
STRICKER, Anna, Michael, Erika, Richard.	Giarmata
STROMER, Anna, Josef, Anna Seeler.	Peciul Nou
STUHL, Elisabeth, Petru, Helga, Gerlinde.	Peciul Nou
STUTZER, Nicolae, Katherina.	Moravita
SUICA, Gertrude, Stefan, Daniel, Anita.	Timisoara-Freidorf.
SZEIF, Erika, Johann, Brunhard.	Janova
SZATRON, Marliese, Josef, Gunther, Reinhold.	Timisoara
SZTARON, Charlotte, Stefan, Harald.	Timisoara
TANASE, Anca.	Bucharest
TELEKI, Mihaly.	Mures
THERNES, Elisabeta, Anton.	Giarmata
TILL, Ana.	Giarmata
TILL, Katherine, Ion, Arnold, Bruno.	Giarmata

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
TJOSCHITZ, Anna, Franz, Peter.	Giarmata
TOROK, Vasile, Maria, Maria.	Aleea Carpati
TRENDLER, Michael, Maria, Johann, Charlotte, Thomas, Maria, Ignatz, Margaretha, Anna Schwarz.	Timisoara
UMSTATTER, Georg, Horst, Elena, Benhard, Hudugar.	Peciul Nou
VASCAN, Vladimir, Etel.	Masloc
VIGH, Maria, Alexander, Paul.	Timisoara
WAGNER, Maria, Willhelm, Gabriel.	Giarmata
WEBER, Michael, Elisabeta, Josef, Irina.	Giarmata
WEBER. Elisabeth, Nicolae, Erika, Reinhold.	Sinnicolaul Mare
WEGENDT, Georg	
WEILAND, Sebastian, Anna.	Giarmata
WEISMANDL, Nicolae, Ana.	Comuna Tomnatic
WEISZ, Robert, Susana, Ralph.	Timisoara
WEISZ, Pavel, Christina, Franisc, Elisabeta, Eduard, Anita.	Voiteni
WETZER, Andreas, Katharina.	Sineptru Mare
WIESSENS, Francisc, Francisca, Anna (Csaftary).	Nitchidorf
WILD, Nicolae, Ekaterina, Gertrude (Schuch), Francisc (Schuch), Hannelore (Schuch), Frank (Schuch).	Masloc
WILHELM, Elisabeth, Johann, Werner, Waltraud, Mathias, Margareta.	Biled
WILLING, Ekaterina.	Jimbolia
WILLING, Johann, Franziska, Ioan.	Jimbolia
WILWERTH, Walter, Johann, Theresia.	Satul-Frumuseni
WINDRICH, Petru, Hannelore, Ionna, Oswald, Robert.	Giarmata

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
WINKLER, Magdalena.	Giarmata
WOJTEK, Josif, Anna, Arthur, Ralf.	Giarmata
WOLF, Manfred, Elfriede, Michael, Monika.	Judetal Timis
WOLF, Johann, Margareta.	Sanpetru-Mic
ZAPPE, Margareta, Mathias, Peter.	Jimbolia
ZERWES, Magdalena, Walter Franz, Susanna, Christine, Hermine, Walter.	Giarmata
ZIMMER, Gertraud.	Timisoara
ZIMMERMAN, Iosif, Margareta.	Giarmata
ZIMMERMANN, Hermann, Anna, Norbert.	Timisoara
ZIPPEL, Karl, Anna, Alfred, Melitta.	Timisoara
ZIPPEL, Karl, Susanna.	Sanandrei
ZOLTON, Karsai.	Cluj

APPENDIX IV

PRIORITY APPEALS IN 1984:

THE ELDERLY AND INFIRM

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	YEAR OF BIRTH	RESIDENCE
BACKER,		
Franz Josef	1903	Jimbolia
Elisabeth	1924	
BECKER		
Johann	1913	Peciul Nou
Ana	1921	
BINDER		
Andreas	1916	Jud. Brasov
Anna	1921	
BODENDORFER		
Mihai	1918	Masloc
Ecaterina	1922	
EBERLE		
Josef	1903	Jud. Timis
Anna	1909	
FRANK		
Nicolae	1917	Giarmata
Margareta	1919	
FROMBACH		
Gheorghe	1905	Giarmata
Gertrude	1910	
GAL		
Margarete	1910	Giarmata
HELLSTERN		
Mihai	1919	Carnai
Barbara	1924	
JOST		
Marianne	1934	Giarmata
KAHLES		
Anna	1914	Lunga
Michael	1908	
KLECKER		
Eva	1900	Timisoara
Ana Lung (daughter)	1926	
LESSL		
Varvara	1928	Cheglevici
Ioan	1927	
Petru	1899	

MICHELBACK		
Theresia	1911	Deta
MUTSCH		
Peter	1894	Giarmata
Johana	1902	
OBERTEN		
Nikolaus	1917	Tomnatec
PICKLOR		
Margareta	1910	Timisoara
Ioan	1910	
PROCKER		
Petru	1895	Giarmata
SCHAFFER		
Ioan	1912	Giarmata
Ana	1915	
SCHMIDT		
Ignatz	1903	Giarmata
Katherina	1907	
SCHMIDT		
Mathias	1910	Giarmata
Ekaterina	1917	
SCHNEIDER		
Sebastian	1907	Giarmata
Anna	1906	
SCHWEININGER		
Peter	1909	Lovrin
Ecaterina	1912	
TOMANSKY		
Nikolaus	1916	Giarmata
Johana	1919	
TELEKI		
Mihail	1908	Mures
TYOSITS		
Katherina	1912	Giarmata
WEISS		
Fulop	1905	Covaci
Margareta	1909	

STATEMENT OF GEORGE CRISAN, ROMANIAN-BAPTIST FELLOWSHIP, FARMINGTON HILLS, MI

Mr. CRISAN. My name is George Crisan. I am an attorney at law in Maryland and the District of Columbia. Here in America, my new homeland, I studied divinity, history, and again back to law. I was a lawyer with the Federal Government for 23 years. I had the special privilege to hear you, Mr. Chairman, in our church, the First Baptist Church of Washington, DC, when we celebrated the anniversary of 100 years since Truman's birthday.

We have submitted a statement, not too long, about two pages. And here are some other things that I want to submit to you, and to take this opportunity to tell something about freedom of worship, in Romania.

Romania—as a historian and as a Romanian-borne—was always a stumbling block to Russia in her drive for open seas. Romania is an island of Romance language in a Slavonic sea. She was occupied many times by the Russians for one reason or another. Today, the Russians still hold, after the Second World War, two provinces, Bucovina and Bessarabia.

The Communist regime in Romania has to walk a very tight rope, looking with heart and mind toward the West for understanding and yet being fully aware of her neighbor the Soviet Russia colossus which somehow embraces practically the whole of Romania.

Romania was the only country of the Socialist bloc to express again and again, independence from the socialistic bloc. Romania was the only country who did not break their relations with Israel: the only country who protested, and did not send armies to occupy Czechoslovakia. These days, it is the only country from the socialistic bloc who sent a very fine athletic group to the Olympic games. Today, the Washington Post makes a very pertinent and worthwhile comment regarding Romania.

We were able to establish ties with the Romanian Baptists in Romania. We traveled quite a few times and visited Romanian-Baptist churches. We were free to speak to thousands in their congregations. Today, in Romania the Baptists enjoy more freedom than they have ever had; because before the Communists they were considered sectarians and persecuted badly.

I have with me Rev. D. Pascu, the director of the Romanian Radio Hour of Cleveland, OH. Before World War II he was a preacher in Romania and often was put in jail for preaching without authorization. Today, such things do not happen.

The Romanian Communist Government treats the Baptists equal with other denominations and enjoy the same treatment under their laws. The Communist Government lets us communicate freely with our Baptist Brethren in Romania, and the Romanian Baptist leaders are allowed to come to the United States and visit our churches.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Torsani.

[Mr. Crisan's written testimony follows:]

GEORGE CRISAN
Attorney
6726 Fairwood Road
Hyattsville, Maryland 20784
Home/Office: 301-773-8233

Office: 301-459-1688

August 7,1984

Roderick A.DeArment, Esq.
Chief Counsel
Finance Committee
Room # 219 Dirksen Bldg.
U.S.Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr.DeArment,

Enclosed please find five copies of a Statement by Rev.A.S.Lucaciu, Rev.D.Pascu and myself,as counsel of two religious organizations.

We submit the Statement for the inclusion in the Subcommittee on International Trade of the U.S.Senate Committee on Finance,proceedings, regarding the extension of MFN clause to Romania.

We do appreciate the opportunity of having our Statement included in the Senate record of proceedings.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

George Crisan

George Crisan

Enclosures

STATEMENT

By Rev. D.Pascu, Director-Founder of the Romanian Radio Hour of Cleveland,Ohio; Rev.A.S.Lucaciu,President,Romanian-American Baptist Fellowship;and George Crisan, Editor of the Christian,Legal Counsel.

For the benefit of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the U.S.Senate Finance Committee,on the Presidential Recommendation to continue the waiver applicable to the Socialist Republic of ROMANIA, and to extend the waiver authority under the TRADE ACT OF 1974.

OUR ORGANIZATIONS RECOMMEND APPROVAL OF PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION

The religious organizations we reprezent comprise Romanian-English speaking Baptist believers, with a membership of about 2500, throughout the United States. We believe that by the extension of the MFN clause to Romania the United States would benefit, both,tradewise and politically.

The Christian,a quarterly, is the mouthpiece of the Romanian-American Baptist Fellowship. It is read by more than 2500 members and it is also mailed in 26 countries in Europe,inclusive Romania.

We have traveled extensively in Romania and have personal knowledge that the Romanian Government honestly tries hard to comply with the Trade Act and also with the Helsinki Statements.

We have experienced obstacles and even hardship in securing authorization for persons who were approved by the US.Immigration Services to come to the United States and join their families. We have asked for explanations.The officials of the Romanian Embassy told us that the local authorities are reluctant to aprove the passports.But, we were persuaded, that eventually, the cases will be cleared. After years of waiting, most of the cases were solved favorably.

In our trips we had the opportunity to meet our Romanian Baptist "brothers in faith" attend their church services,always packed with worshipers and having most wonderful choral music and bras bands,and also baptisms.Romanian Baptist leaders were alowed to come to the United States and attend our yearly conventions and other church gatherings.At least one of the church leaders is a graduate of Southern Baptist Seminary with a degree of Doctor in Phylosophy. He was attending the Seminary here for three years.

We have attended some other churches,like Romanian Orthodox churches and Hungarian Catholic Churches,the churches were packed with worshipers. All denominations enjoy the same treatment under the communist laws of Romania. Under Romanian law,we must conclude,that they enjoy the freedom of worship.Of course, at certain hours and days as the schedules of worship are made by the Government in conjunction with the denominational leadership.

The editor of the Christian has traveled through the Hungarian speaking populace in Transylvania. It was my impression that the Hungarian communities are treated even better than the Romanian ethnics.I had not heard of anykind of discrimination among the Hungarian ethnics.The Baptists leaders of Hungarian community I have met and talked with,told me that there is no discrimination against the Hungarian group whatsoevere;they have their churches, opera,theatre,newpapers and a lot of publications in Hungarian language printed in Romania.

The Romanian nation , since down of its history,looked toward West,because they are of French and German culture and civilization.Their neighbor,Soviet Russia has been and probably for ever shall be their greatest threat. Russia looks for and always wanted open seas.Romania was a stambling block against their expension to the Mediteranian Sea. After the Yalta "agreement" the Romanians were left in the"sphere of influence" of the Soviet Russia.

In the First World War Romania sided with the Allied Forces,France,Great Britain and the United States. She was overwhelmed by the Central Powers,the Germans and Austro-Hungarians.When the Russia fell under Lenin and Trotzky, and when the Austro-Hungarian Empire desintegrated, it was the Romanian Army that eliberated Hungary and Budapest from the Bolsheviks of Bela Kuhn. In 1918 the populace of Transylvania in great majority Romanian ethnic,also the small minority of Hungarians and Germans, expressed their will to become a part of Romania. At that time Yugoslavia,Poland and Chechoslovakia were born together with the Baltic Republics.All these because of President Wilson"Declarations" that all nations should be free to join their own ethnic groups and determine their own destiny.

A small group of Hungarian nobility,living abroad,agitated for a long period of time and filed complaint at the International Court of Justice in Haag,to be compensated for their lost of land, which the Romanian government distributed to the peasantry regardless of their ethnicity.

Same type of agitation it hapens these day in the United States by some Hungarians who dream of the Old Glory,when Transylvania was under their domination and for most of the time under Austrian Empire.It is this group of Hungarians in the United States that claims that the Hungarian ethnic group in Transylvania is deprived of it cultural heritage.Their is not a single voice from Transylvania to claim such a thing.

Romania was and still is considered a Romance Island in a Slavonic Sea.

Today Russia detains two of Romanian provinces,Bessarabia and Bukovina. The communistic government in Romania was impossed by Russia.This government, it is my best insight,is constantly aware,that a small mistake of it may cause the Big Brother,Soviet Russia , to occupy Romania under one or other guise.However, the Romanian President proved to express quite often independence in thinking and action. Romania was against the occupation of Czeckoslovakia;Romanian did not break the diplomatic relations with Israel. Romania even today maintains quite friendly relations with Israel and the Jewish people who want to emigrate to Israel are allowed to do so.

Because of Romanian independence in many occasions, from the Socialistic Block, President Nixon paid a visit to Romania in 1968 and was welcomed with tremenduous enthusiasm. President Carter invited the President of Romania in 1978 again because of freindly relations with that unfortunate country "Romania".These days,only Romania did not withdraw from the Olympic Games,from the communistic block.All in all Romania wants to be a sincere friend of the United States,yet to have in view the big brother,Soviet Union which embraces somehow Romania in its claws.

We believe that extending the MFN clause is a sign of friendship,of help too,and is beneficial to the United States.

We thank you for this opportunity in submitting the Statement and for its consideration and its inclusion in the Committee's Proceedings.

August 7,1984

By George Crisan
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STATEMENT OF JOSEPH A. TORSANI, JR., VICE PRESIDENT, PRUDENTIAL LINES, INC., NEW YORK, NY

Mr. Torsani. Mr. Chairman, I have been asked to be here today as an interested member of the business community engaged in commerce in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Prudential Lines is a U.S-flag ocean shipping company which carries U.S. exports to and from the Mediterranean and Black Sea ports. We serve many countries in those areas, to include Romania.

Over the past 10 years we have established a very cooperative professional relationship with Romania, which has been enhanced by continued growth in the service that we provide to them.

During the past 12 months, Prudential has carried the major portion of trade between the United States and Romania. In that period, the value of goods carried, both import and export, have exceeded $540 million. This significant trade between our two countries represents 23 percent of Prudential's annual ocean freight revenue. The loss of this revenue would adversely affect Prudential's operation as a U.S.-flag Carrier and our participation in the American Merchant Marine, which as we all know is a vital part of the national defense.

In addition, we employ over a thousand direct employees, stevedores, and maritime service personnel through the United States to support our vessel and cargo operations. The loss or significant reduction of trade between our two countries would likely have an adverse impact upon U.S. labor as well.

The mutually beneficial trade established between our two countries, we believe, is in the best interests of the United States and in the interest of the U.S. business community. Therefore, Prudential strongly supports and urges your approval to continue most-favored-nation status granted to Romania.

I am grateful to have the opportunity to present this review to you, and I hope that it will assist you in your deliberations.

Thank you.

Senator Danforth. Thank you very much.

[Mr. Torsani's prepared statement follows:]

STATEMENT
OF
JOSEPH A. TORSANI, JR.
VICE PRESIDENT, PRUDENTIAL LINES, INC.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members of the Subcommittee my name is Joseph A. Torsani, Jr. I am a Vice President of Prudential Lines, Inc. I have asked to be present today as a member of The United States Business Community engaged in Commerce with the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Prudential Lines is a U. S. Flag Ocean Shipping Company which carries U. S. exports and imports to and from the Mediterranean and Black Sea ports. We provide both container and Lash (lighter aboard ship) barge service to Spain, Italy, Egypt, Israel, Greece, Lebanon, Turkey and Romania.

Over the past 10 years we have established a very cooperative, professional working relationship with Romania enhanced by continued growth in the service we provide to them. During the past 12 months Prudential Lines has carried the major portion of trade between the U. S. and Romania. The value of goods carried both import and export totalled $540 million. This significant trade between our two countries represented 23% of Prudential's annual ocean freight revenue. The loss of this revenue would adversely affect Prudential's operation as a U. S. Flag Carrier and our participation in the American Merchant Marine, which is a vital part of our National Defense.

In addition we employ over 1000 direct employees, stevedores, and maritime service personnel throughout the United States to support our vessel and cargo operations. The loss or significant reduction of trade between our two countries would likely have an adverse impact upon U. S. Labor.

The mutually beneficial trade between our two countries we believe is in the best interest of the United States and the U. S. Business Community. Therefore Prudential Lines strongly supports and urges your approval to continue the Most Favored Nation status granted to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity to present Prudential's views on this important issue.

In addition to my brief statement I have attached for the record a recent letter written to Senator Danforth by Spyros S. Skouras, President and Chief Executive Officer of Prudential Lines, Inc. I hope that both will assist you in your deliberations.

PRUDENTIAL LINES, INC.

SPYROS S. SKOURAS
PRESIDENT
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

May 8, 1984

Senator John Danforth
Chairman of the International Trade
Sub-Committee of the Finance Committee
460 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Danforth:

This letter is written to urge your support for the continuance of Most Favored Nation tariff status for the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Prudential Lines, Inc. is a U.S. Flag steamship company operating regular freight liner services between ports on the U.S. East Coast and ports in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea, including Romania. During the last twelve months, Prudential has carried approximately $540 million in Romanian cargo. The revenue from this cargo represents approximately 23% of Prudential's total revenues. Continued carriage of this cargo is important to Prudential's operation as a U. S. Flag carrier and Prudential's participation in the U. S. Flag Maritime Fleet as part of the U. S. National Defense.

Furthermore, this cargo is vital to U.S./Romanian trade and the viability of many U. S. businesses involved in that trade. It also provides employment for not only Prudential employees, but for many dockworkers and employees of U. S. trading firms as well.

Normal commercial relations with the Socialist Republic of Romania are essential and advantageous to the United States and we urge your support in the continuance of the Most Favored Nation tariff status for the Socialist Republic of Romania.

We thank you for your consideration.

Very truly yours,

Spyros S. Skouras
President

SSS/eb

Senator DANFORTH. Does anyone disagree with extending MFN status to Romania?

[No response.]

Senator DANFORTH. And Mr. Spitzer and Ms. Burkhalter and Mr. Crisan and Ms. Gaer, do you think that the review process—do you all believe that the review process is worthwhile?

Mr. SPITZER. Absolutely.

Mr. CRISAN. I believe so.

Senator DANFORTH. The general impression I get from your testimony is that you think, while there may be problems in Romania, the situation is improving rather than getting worse. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. SPITZER. Correct.

Senator DANFORTH. You don't agree with that?

Ms. GAER. No.

Mr. CRISAN. More delay in some cases of emigration. Maybe the delays are because of what the Under Secretary just said, that they don't have visa numbers for entering the United States.

Senator DANFORTH. Ms. Gaer?

Ms. GAER. Well, for example, there is no question in the case of the education tax that the interest and intervention of this subcommittee and the Congress through this review process has had an important positive impact: it has seen that the tax is not applied. But the review process hasn't had any impact on the structural situation in Romania with regard to such fundamental matters as discouraging applications for emigration and with regard to reprisals against persons who apply.

Senator DANFORTH. What happens to people who apply?

Ms. GAER. Well, that is extensively outlined in my testimony. Some applicants are dismissed from jobs; some are unable to find other jobs; some are imprisoned; some are given extended bureaucratic runarounds; some suffer economically; some are forced to work in other cities. We have really documented an extraordinary range of reprisals taking place—even during the last year—representing the continuation of former repressive practices against applicants.

What the league has also found, however, is that there has been improvement in some specific cases; in particular, as I mentioned, the intervention of the Romanian Ambassador has led to certain cases being resolved, notably those coming to the United States. But the league is deeply troubled by the overall structural issues that remain essentially unchanged.

Even in the case of the education tax, for example, it remains on the books, but it is not assessed in practice. While such nonassessment is unquestionably a positive development, the Government still maintains the arbitrary legal power to act as it pleases and to reimpose the tax at any moment.

Should the Romanian Government take other steps, some of which are outlined specifically in our written testimony, to stop reprisals or to simplify the emigration process in specific ways, then, in our judgment that would represent considerable improvement.

Mr. SPITZER. Senator Danforth, I think the record should reflect that we have found that, while the 6 months processing agreement is not being adhered to in every instance, which would be vastly shorter than the previous practice, that over a period of time we have been able to work out a number of very difficult problems.

I can report, for example, that four persons who were convicted of economic crimes and still had substantial indebtedness to the Government, that indebtedness was waived so that three of the four were able to leave, and have left.

What I am saying is that, thanks to the relationship which does exist, most problems have been able to work out constructively so that there is freedom of emigration for those who seek it. I think the record should so reflect.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you all very much for your testimony.

The final panel: Lucian Orasel, chairman, American-Romanian Relations Committee; Jacob Birnbaum, Center for Russian and East European Jewry; Laszlo Hamos, chairman, Committee for Human Rights of Rumania; Reverend Jeffrey A. Collins, executive director of the Christian Response International; and Istvan B. Gereben, Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America.

Mr. Orasel.

STATEMENT OF LUCIAN V. ORASEL, CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN-ROMANIAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, NEW YORK, NY

Mr. **Orasel**. Mr. Chairman, I know we have an uphill battle declining the granting of most-favored-nation status to Romania, especially in the light of all the excitement the Romanians are generating today with their participation in the international Olympics currently underway in Los Angeles. After all, they are the only Eastern European Communist country to send their athletic team, not joining the boycott called by the Soviet Union.

However, this does not in any way diminish the Romanian record of abuse against its people. The Romanian jails are overcrowded with thousands of victims of the Communist government politburo pressure. The government continues to persecute the population and suppress civil rights. Freedom does not exist at all.

The Romanians also continue to be the victims of the Government's disastrous economic policies, suffering food and fuel shortages. The United States will also be affected by the Romanian poor economy; the Communist government's $14 billion debt to the free world will never be paid. As a matter of fact, the Romanian decision to attend the Olympics was made after President Ceaucescu met with Chairman Chernenko in Moscow. So the so-called independence of Romania from the Soviet Union does not exist, and we are only fooling ourselves if we believe otherwise.

Mr. Chairman, it is an honor to appear before you and your committee this afternoon.

I am Lucian Orasel, chairman of the American-Romanian Relations Committee, and this committee was established in 1981 by U.S. citizens of Romanian descent, Romanians who have recently come to America, and Romanians who are still living in Romania. Its aim is to provide a channel of communication and information between the grass roots of the Romanian population and the leaders of the United States who are concerned with "freedom and justice for all."

I was surprised that most of the speakers are speaking regarding the welfare and well-being of Romanian families, government, and regarding their relations with the government. Not one of them is free to know or to say anything about what happened among the population of Romanians, over 26 million.

I want to correct Mr. Spitzer regarding the percent of the Jewish population. It is under 0.3, not 16 percent.

I want to quote from the Washington Post and the New York Times, that the Romanians at the end of the year will have over a $16-billion debt that they cannot pay.

The people working in Romania are forced to work for the government to pay this debt, and in Romania in every single factory, on the walls, in public places, there are slogans that "The United States is Our Biggest Enemy, and, The Soviet Union is our biggest ally."

In 1984 the world has a clear history of documented Communist terror: fomentation of unrest, crises, conflicts, and aggression, deceit, lies, oppression, the detention of innocent people that are committed by the Romanian Communist government.

Therefore, we ask you, Mr. Chairman, to deny the most-favored-nation status to the Romanian Communist government.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Birnbaum.

[Mr. Orasel's written testimony follows:]

AMERICAN-ROMANIAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
P.O. Box 1291 Ansonia Station
New York, New York 10023
(212) 877-3674

STATEMENT

OPPOSING U.S. GRANTING OF

MOST-FAVORED-NATION TRADE STATUS

TO THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT

made before the

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

of the

SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

by

LUCIAN V. ORASEL

CHAIRMAN,

AMERICAN-ROMANIAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Dated: August 8 , 1984

Mr. Chairman, it is an honor to appear before your subcommittee this morning. I am Lucian V. Orasel, chairman of the American-Romanian Relations Committee.

The Committee was established in 1981 by U. S. citizens of Romanian descent, Romanians who have recently come to America and Romanians who are still living in Romania. Its aim is to provide a channel of communication and information between the grass roots of the Romanian population and the leaders of the United States who are concerned with "freedom and justice for all."

I appear this morning on behalf of this Committee to ask you to deny a renewal of the most favored nation trade status to the Romanian Communist Government.

The United States government wants to improve its relations with communist Romania because of Ceausescu's so-called "independent foreign policy." However, in spite of Romania's seeming independence from Moscow, it remains one of the most tightly controlled countries in the Soviet bloc, with strict curbs on political dissent and a cumbersome, highly centralized economic apparatus. In Romania, all citizens are required to report within 24 hours any contact they may have with foreigners. Domestically, the country faces severe shortages of meat, milk, sugar and other commodities, which is partially caused by the government's emphasis on a crash industrialization program at the expense of agricultural development.

Earlier this year, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu conceded for the first time that the emphasis on industrial expansion had "negatively influenced the population's standard of living."

Providing economic assistance to the Romanian government has been defended on the grounds that it will "soften" the communists and induce the regime to relax its totalitarianism. This has been the argument for over 40 years. In reality, however, there have never been any signs of a fundamental change. The Romanian communist government has maintained its policy of repression.

I was born and raised in Romania, a country which fell to communism during the Soviet invasion in 1944. I lived in that country for over 30 years and can testify to the harsh realities of communist oppression. I was imprisoned for eight years while I was still a young man. My "crime" was advocating the restoration of basic human rights and plurality in the political party system.

The communist repression in Romania takes many forms. Religious groups are brutally oppressed for nothing more than defending their right to worship.

The Rev. George Calciu Dumitreasa has been sentenced to ten years in prison for his strong religious convictions. He has already served five years of this sentence and thus far the Romanian communist government has ignored all pleas to release him. His case has aroused considerable interest in Europe.

In Romania, concentration camps still exist. Jails and mental hospitals are crowded far beyond their capacities. Persecution of religious groups continues. Freedom and liberty have been taken away for 40 years and it has resulted in the deprivation of human rights for millions of people. After World War II, the Romanian communist government ordered the incorporation of the nearly 2.3 million Eastern-Rite Romanian Catholics into the state-controlled Orthodox Church. The communist government arrested hundreds of Latin-Rite and Eastern-Rite Catholic priests and laymen. More than 50 priests were executed and 200 died in prison, wrote John Maher in "Provista-Enlightenment," a newspaper well-documented in church affairs.

Meanwhile, Ceausescu enjoys a luxurious life, which is in sharp contrast to the austere life-style of most Romanians and in total contradiction to what the communist doctrine itself dictates. Ceausescu shares this lavish living with other top Romanian officials.

On a recent visit to Romania, Libyan strongman Colonel Muammar Kadaffi was entertained at one of the luxurious villas maintained by government officials outside Bucharest. It is a well-known fact that Ceausescu is a staunch defender of Kadaffi's policies, including his terrorist activities.

The New York Times, which is not considered to be a conservative newspaper, said recently in an article by John B. Oakes:

> "Mr. Ceausescu has been running this country [Romania] as a virtual dictator under tight reign for almost 20 years. He has been widely condemned by Westerners for mismanagement of the economy and for the repressive nature of the regime, widely considered to be one of the most repressive in Eastern Europe. Under President Ceausescu's watchful eye, one out of every three adults is said to report on the other two in what is believed to be the most efficient secret police network in Communist Europe. Mr. Ceausescu dismisses the Solidarity movement in Poland as an anti-socialist creature of the Roman Catholic Church."

The Washington Post recently headlined an article "Debt-Ridden Romania Could Be Next Poland, Study Warns." This article reports on an analysis by Warton Econometric Forecasting Associates, a Washington-based consulting firm. The analysis takes a dim view of the International Monetary Fund's decision to approve a $1.46 billion loan package for Romania, whose overall performance last year was the worst since World War II. By the end of last year, Romania's hard-currency debt had reached $12.5 billion, including a $7 billion loan owed to Western commercial banks, $1.3 billion to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and $4.2 billion to Western governments and Mideast lenders.

The Wharton organization forecasts that if the current trends continue, the Balkan nations' net external debt will climb to about $15.9 billion by the end of this year and to $19.1 billion by the end of 1985.

The hard-currency trade balance of Romania has been eroded considerably in recent years due to its shift from a long-time exporter to a net importer of oil. "Oligarchic leadership has persisted in pursuing rigid and inappropriate economic policies," the analysis said.

Daniel Bond, a Wharton economist, said the multilateral financial institutions have exerted "virtually no pressure on Romania to change its policies" in the economic sphere. He states that Romania has generally been accorded "very special treatment" on loans since it joined the International Monetary Fund in 1972.

The well-documented Washington-based newspaper The Washington Times wrote:

> "During the decade of detente, communist Poland and Stalinist Romania expressed a desire to puchase vast amounts of American grain and food. Having, however, no hard currency, they asked to buy on credit. The American Big Banks agreed to lend the money--if the Commodity Credit Corporation, a federal agency, would guarantee 98 percent of the principal of the loan, and an 8 percent profit. It's called no-fault banking.
>
> "Having consumed the grain, Warsaw and Bucharest walked away from the loans. With neither principal nor interest coming in, the Big Banks went to the Commodity Credit Corporation to get paid off. For two years they have been paid off with the tax dollars of the American people.
>
> "So, the grocery bill of the Warsaw Pact, from the decade of detente is being handed by the Communist capitals of Eastern Europe to the American people."

Mr. Chairman, the problem is that there are many in the State Department and elsewhere who believe that if we treat selected Eastern European countries better than the Soviet Union, these countries can be weaned away from Moscow. This is simply not true. In Romania, in every single factory and on walls in public places there are slogans such as "United States is our biggest enemy and the Soviet Union is our biggest ally." The apologists for the communist states in Eastern Europe have been proven wrong during the last 50 years. So-called "peaceful trade" is a myth. To the communist countries, trade with the West is a weapon too. The truth is that the American trade policies in the past have helped the Soviet Union and its allies to build up a huge military force which has become so formidable that the United States has to spend over $200 billion annually to defend itself against this force.

In 1984 the world has before it a clear history of documented communist terror: formation of unrest, crises, conflict and aggression; deceit; lies; oppression; the detention of innocent people in jails and mental institutions; murders; discrimination against non-communists; the cruel suppression of governments; the unjust confiscation of property; the pitting of children against parents, encouraging one to inform on the other; the separation of families; the suppression of monasteries and convents; the closing of churches and church-related schools; the execution of bishops, opponents and countless others; and the enslavement of millions.

Restricting--rather than promoting--trade with Eastern bloc countries is the least violent weapon that can be conceived to stop the evil of communism.

Our policy of subsidizing self-declared enemies is neither rational nor moral. The purpose of detente, in the eyes of the Soviets, is to give them the opportunity to build up their forces in view of a renewed assault on the West.

This country today faces the gravest danger to its existence since the outbreak of World War II. Therefore, we have to act now.

We can stop the Soviets and Soviet-directed puppet governments without using a single gun by simply denying them economic support and halting trade with them.

I am here today on behalf of all Romanian nationals who suffered under the most terror-filled system in the world, to ask you, indeed to beg you, to deny extension of the most favored nation status to the Romanian communist government.

We should take the Soviet Union and its puppet governments seriously, before it is too late.

Thank you.

John Gociu
Secretary
Ioan Gociu

Lucian V. Orasel
Chairman
Lucian v. Orasel

Attachment

STATEMENT OF JACOB BIRNBAUM, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY, NEW YORK, NY

Mr. **Birnbaum**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Today's hearings should be in honor of and as a tribute to the name and memory of Senator Henry Jackson, who passed away a few months ago.

I remember very distinctly what he said in reference to the *Chadha* decision: He felt that the committee's work was more than ever essential in providing and continuing a year-round monitoring process. His caution is very much in order in relation to Romania.

Anyone who has read the latest Country Report of the State Department, which shows Romania as having the most repressive regime, apart from the Soviet Union, in the whole East bloc, will see there is reason for caution. In all these years we have seen ups and downs, and the downs have been due, in a sense, to our failure to monitor sufficiently and to pressure sufficiently. The ups are due to the fact that this annual process of hearings, continue.

I would confirm, from daily experience, that there is still plenty of harassment, particularly in the areas of jobs, removal from jobs, and eviction from apartments, and many other matters which I don't have time to go into now. I have listed some of the evidence in my testimony.

It seems to me that the point of these hearings is not so much the question of "Are we going to grant MFN to Romania or not this year? " I think the question ought to be more to: "To what extent are we utilizing the leverage which we have with the Romanians to keep them up to par?"

There have been some over-enthusiastic statements made today about Romanian human rights conditions which don't jibe with our experiences. In view of the most recent one, the imposition of the education tax last year, I would suggest that we take notice of reports such as I heard last week from a responsible individual who had just returned from Romania. She told me that there was a report which sounded exactly like the reports before the putting on of the education tax, saying that emigration would be virtually shut down as of January 1, 1985.

Now, I am not saying that this will happen, but all I am urging is great caution in monitoring the Romanian human rights situation.

Mr. Chairman, I would be very happy to answer the same kinds of questions which were addressed to the previous panel.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Hamos.

[Mr. Birnbaum's written testimony follows:]

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT BY JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY, BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1984.

Tribute to the Late Senator Henry Jackson - His unique role in embodying human rights concerns into legislative committment, and linking them to economic leverage.

Responses to Chadha Decision Regarding Congressional Veto - Jackson believed that last summer's Supreme Court decision made Congressional trade committees more than ever responsible for Congressional oversight, namely a year-round monitoring, capped by annual public hearings.

Arnold and Porter's Robert Herzstein and others assert that Washington can maintain control over the extension of MFN status through annual legislation plus a "fast-track" mechanism. Rep. Elliott Levitas and Deputy Attorney General Schmultz suggest that Congress can devise a host of mechanisms that will reassert Congressional authority on Presidential and executive agency decisions.

Apart from MFN, the U.S. has additional leverage, actual and potential, on account of Rumania's need for credit, loans and grants from national and international agencies and their need for technological knowhow, e.g., Bucharest's current application for satellite monitoring equipment.

State Department's Country Report for 1983 - This report makes a comprehensive survey of continued human rights abuses by the Rumanian authorities.

Resurgence of Anti-Semitic Writings - These include an attack on Rumanian Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, and have shocked Rumanian Jews.

Congressional Human Rights Caucus Letters to Reagan and Ceausescu - The May 14th letters protested serious Rumanian human rights violations, including emigration.

Emigration Problems - Despite minor improvements, enormous problems remain, including harassments such as removal from jobs and apartments.

Emigration Rates - 1983, compared with 1982, is up for U.S. and West Germany, down for Israel. Despite the difficulties, 2500 Jews are registered at any one time, yet annual departures are nearer to 1000 than 2000. Potential annual Jewish emigration is 4-5000. During the first quarter of 1984, the rate averaged almost 200 a month in anticipation of the President's recommendation to Congress. As Israel has no clout in Bucharest, persistent Congressional monitoring essential to maintain these minimal rates for 1984.

Pessimism About Future of Emigration - A recent visitor's report speaks of new plans to virtually shut down emigration as of January 1, 1985.

Regid U.S. Immigration Policy Resulting in Hard Family Reunification Cases - We suggest the principle of "humanitarian parole" be interpreted more flexibly in cases of close relatives needing care, such as old, sick and young persons.

STATEMENT OF JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY, BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1984.

Tribute to the Late Senator Henry Jackson: His Unique Role Linking Human Rights to Economic Leverage

This is the tenth year that this committee is considering the extension of the waiver of the "freedom of emigration" provision (Section 402) of the 1974 Trade Act. This year, however, is different because of the untimely passing of Senator Henry Jackson. A decade of hearings is the product of Senator Jackson's unique drive to translate oft-proclaimed but ineffective platitudes about American moral leadership into practical effect. He understood the importance of relating human rights to economic leverage, and of embodying this linkage into legislative committment. Few realize that his name became a beacon of hope to the oppressed in the Soviet bloc. (See Dr. William Korey's article, "Jackson-Vanik: It Has Worked Well", *Christian Science Monitor*, 10/28/83.)

When Bucharest introduced the education "ransom" tax on October 22, 1982, it was Jackson's Amendment which successfully blunted its effect and caused Secretary of State Shultz to say in June 1983 that he had changed his mind about its effectiveness.

Response to the Chadha Decision's Effect on Congressional Leverage

We were therefore most unhappy when it appeared that the unbroken momentum of almost a decade of hearings might be interrupted by the lack of such in 1984. There was talk of Congress' busy schedule, preoccupation with the elections, and the diminution of Congressional leverage produced by the Supreme Court's Chadha decision of June 22, 1983, inhibiting Congressional vetos of Executive action. There have been, of course, other busy years, but the Chadha decision has clearly been a discouragement, though, to some extent, it seems that Congress has been continuing as if it does not exist. (See "In Spite of the Court, the Legislative Veto Lives On", *New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1983.)

On July 20, 1983, Deputy Attorney General Edward Schmultz told the Foreign Affairs Committee that there remained "many effective and fully constitutional mechanisms whereby Congress can carry out its constitutional oversight function". Writing to President Reagan on July 9, 1983, Rep. Elliott Levitas stated, "Obviously, Congress can devise a host of mechanisms within the scope of the Court's decision that will reassert Congressional authority over decisions of the President, executive agencies and independent agencies." Such devices could include "stripping away all or most of the delegated discretionary powers" or requiring "Congressional approval for all major activities or regulations".

During the July 29, 1983 hearings of this committee, the distinguished Washington constitutional attorney Robert Herzstein concluded, "I believe that Congress can effectively maintain its current control over the extension of MFN status through the annual legislation approach, coupled with a 'fast track' mechanism." He suggested that under the system of annual legislation, "authorization for MFN status will expire each year, as it does currently. To extend MFN another year, however, the President would have to secure implementing legislation from Congress. . . . This system would maintain the control over Executive actions Congress possesses with the legislative veto."

Earlier, Herzstein maintained that there are "respectible grounds for arguing that the Chadha decision did not invalidate the legislative veto contained in the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. The extremely broad holding of the Chadha decision rests upon an extremely narrow factual basis." He points out that Jackson-Vanik differs in a number of major ways from Chadha; for example, Chadha involves the rights of an individual, while here we are concerned with the conduct of foreign nations.

Underlining the importance of year-round Congressional monitoring, culminating in public hearings, the late Senator Henry Jackson told this committee last year, "The Chadha decision has obviously made the annual review and annual report procedure more indispensible than ever to encourage the countries involved to continue to take with due seriousness Congressional concern regarding their emigration policies and practices. . . . Many emigration cases -- especially the difficult ones -- are resolved in a reasonable time just because of the annual review and anticipation of the Congressional hearings". He recommended that Congress should continue "to exercise its legislative authority through oversight, and that the Finance Committee specifically will exercise that right as necessary and appropriate, not limited only to consideration of the annual report."

Congress has additional points of leverage with Bucharest which receives a number of loans from the United States, and will in the future require substantial credit, grants and loans from America and international agencies in which the U.S. plays a role. The Rumanians have this year sought important satellite monitoring equipment.

Rumania's Human Rights Abuses: The State Department's Country Report for 1983

This report, published in February 1984, paints a dismal picture of the human rights situation in Rumania, and shows once more the importance of Congress utilizing the means it possesses to assist the oppressed when it is in a position to do so. The report contains considerable discussion of Rumanian conditions under hearings such as "Torture and Cruel Punishment (Including the Misuse of Psychiatric Hospitals)"; "Arbitrary Arrests, Detention and Exile"; "Denial of Correspondence (Including Harassment of Those in Contact with Foreigners and of the Foreigners Themselves, Removing People from their Jobs and Apartments for Religious, Political or Social Nonconformity)"; "Freedom of Speech and Press (Including the Registration of Typewriters, Fines and Imprisonment for People Possessing Foreign Bibles)"; "Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association (Including Those for Religious and Trade Union Purposes)"; "Religious Persecution (Especially of Christian Evangelicals, Adventists, Witnesses, Etc.)"; "Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel and Emigration"; "Policies of Cultural Extinction of Ethnic Minorities (Such as Hungarians)".

Resurgence of Anti-Semitic Literature in Rumania

1983/4 saw the resurgence -- though on a larger scale -- of the rash of anti-semitic writings of 1980. There were reprints of stories by the 19th century writer Vasile Alecsandi about "the filthy kikes". Particularly noticeable were works by Corneliu Vadim Tudor, published in journals such as the literary magazine *Septmana*, the organ of the Committee for Cultural and Socialist Education of the Bucharest Municipality on July 29, 1983. In a poem, "A Martyr's Epistle to the Traitors of the Country," he speaks of the "foul foreigners," a known derrogatory term for Jews. In a book dated December 1983, he goes so far as to attack Rumanian Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, himself a leading member of Rumania's power elite. Despite certain assurances and withdrawals, Rosen does not believe that these are sufficient, and remains despondent, clearly not having recovered from the shock.

A long, insidious article in the Communist Youth League newspaper *Scienteia Tineretului* in April 1983 discusses a Jewish "plot against the specificity of the Rumanian spirit" and quotes a number of well-known Jewish intellectuals whom it calls "dogmatists" whose stated goal is "the liquidation of the historical roots of the authentic native Rumanian culture".

House Human Rights Caucus Writes to Reagan and Ceausescu on May 14, 1984

Following the publication of the country report and these anti-semitic revelations, Reps. Tom Lantos and John Porter, co-chairmen of the House Human Rights Caucus, sent letters on May 14, 1984 to President Reagan and Rumanian President Nicolai Ceausescu on behalf of nearly 200 Congressmen to "voice our distress over the many serious human rights violations still being perpetrated by the Rumanian authorities".

Rumanian Emigration Problems Still Enormous Despite Small Improvements

In an article in the *Wall Street Journal* of June 4, 1984, "The Harsh Reality Behind Rumania's Olympic Move", Dr. Juliana Pilon concluded, "It is not surprising, therefore, that the urge to emigrate has reached pandemic proportions."

It was Senator Jackson's practical genius to select emigration as the first line of human rights defense, and link it with MFN as part of the 1974 Trade Act. Following our major campaign in 1982 involving the White House and Congress, the Rumanians were forced for the first time to give written promises to "consistently improve emigration procedures, eliminate bureaucratic delays and abuses", to remove "discriminations", and shorten the time period (see letter of Rumanian Ambassador Malitza to the Congressional trade committees and selected legislators, Aug. 1982).

While there have been minor improvements, especially in time procedures, emigration difficulties continue to be enormous, with plenty of instances of harassment such as eviction from jobs and apartments. Here are some extracts from June 1984 letters to me:

> Since they applied to emigrate, my brother and his wife have been denied their jobs. . . . The banks make difficulties in cashing the international money orders I send them, sometimes making them wait as long as 8 or 9 months for the money.
>
> Mrs. X and her young daughter were forced out of their apartment on their application to leave, and must live by going from one relation to another.
>
> Last year, my old aunt and her two married daughters with their husbands and children applied to rejoin her son in Israel. The Rumanian authorities fired both daughters and their husbands from their jobs. They live off my aunt's meager pension. Then the authorities indicated that the old lady could go alone without the family, but this is impossible. They've had to sell everything to provide for the necessities of life. My cousin in Israel can hardly smuggle enough food for them through Israeli tourists. Their phone is continuously tapped, their correspondence censored, and the apartment has been frequently broken into. They are often visited by officials on various pretexts.

1983 Emigration Rate to the U.S. and West Germany Up: To Israel, Down. Rumanian Promises Not Kept

Let us look at the rate of emigration from Rumania. Though the rates to the Western powers most important to Bucharest, the U.S. and West Germany, increased substantially in 1983 over 1982, the flow to Israel declined. The Rumanian authorities claimed that 1606 Rumanian Jews left in 1982; the Israelis stated that only 1283 reached Israel in 1983.

In the latter part of May 1983, just before the Presidential announcement of MFN to Rumania, a White House official informed me that the Presidential announcement was being delayed so Mr. Begin's office in Israel would receive appropriate assurances from Bucharest that the 1983 figures would go beyond those of 1982. The promises were made but not kept, and the rate dropped once more toward the absurdly low figure of a little above 1000 of earlier years, instead of rising toward the 2000 mark. The first quarter of 1984 showed a rate of almost 200 a month, then dropped again in April to 146 and in May to 123.

The United States and West Germany have plenty of clout in Bucharest, but Israel has little or none. The Israeli authorities see Rumanian Jewry as a hostage group, and for this and other reasons are following an appeasement policy. Consequently, these survivors of the Nazi Holocaust depend so much on the humanitarian efforts of the United States through economic and political channels. It is essential that the Congressional trade committees do their share in maintaining continuous pressure on Bucharest to hold to these minimal emigration rates for the Jews, in order to bring them to par with the substantial increase to the U.S. and West Germany.

Annual Emigration Potential of Rumanian Jews 4 - 5000

In previous years, the attorney Ira Kleiman and I, independently collating several lists, both came to the conclusion that as many as 2500 Rumanian Jews have been in some stage of the emigration process in recent years. Consequently, a monthly rate of 200 is a minimal number. This is indeed a rate the Rumanians permit when they are trying to impress the White House. Based on daily contacts with relatives of Rumanian Jews, we repeat our express conviction of previous testimonies that 4 - 5000 Rumanian Jews would leave every year if given the opportunity.

In the light of this, an annual figure hovering around the 1000 mark is clearly unacceptable, and we are obviously unhappy when Washington officials describe a little above 1400 as "relatively high".

Visitor Pessimistic on Outlook for Future Emigration

A few days ago, a just-returned visitor to Rumania told me of persistent reports within that country of renewed attempts to severely cut down and even terminate future emigration as of January 1, 1985.

Is the U.S. an Opponent of Family Reunification?

The United States is regarded as the greatest champion of emigration in history. The recent severe curtailment of emigration by the Immigration and Naturalization Service has resulted in some hard family reunification cases in this country.

I refer in particular to the transformation of the principle of humanitarian parole into so narrow a concept that only in extreme cases is it applied. Even two old ladies in their 80s trying to rejoin their children here have been categorically refused. We suggest a more flexible interpretation in cases of close relatives needing care, such as elderly, sick or young persons.

STATEMENT OF LASZLO HAMOS, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OF RUMANIA, NEW YORK, NY

Mr. HAMOS. Mr. Chairman, the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania thanks you and the subcommittee for holding these hearings.

The events of the past year have given particular urgency to continuing public scrutiny of Romania's gross violations of human rights.

In previous years our organization has presented detailed evidence of a systematic campaign by the Romanian Government to destroy the cultural identity of that country's Hungarian minority, numbering 2.5 million people, through curtailing its opportunities to preserve its language, its culture, its traditions, and its religious life. Despite police brutality against those citizens of Romania engaged in monitoring and reporting that country's human rights abuses, one group, the Hungarian Press of Transylvania, has succeeded in regularly issuing reliable and detailed reports over the past year which document the terror that runs rampant there today.

Attached to our written statement, Mr. Chairman, are selected English translations of these documents. We commend them to your attention as offering the most eloquent and authentic direct testimony to the ruthless antiminority practices instituted by the Ceaucescu regime during the past year alone.

One year ago at these hearings we raised several cases to illustrate how the Romanian Government, beyond using its pervasive control over every facet of community life, increasingly resorts to sheer terror tactics against individual victims.

The situation over the past 12 months has taken a sharp turn for the worse, with capricious detentions, beatings by the secret police, and unexplained disappearances becoming a depressing day-to-day commonplace reality in Romania. More important, Mr. Chairman, for the first time in our 9 years of testifying at these hearings, we have the grim task of reporting several deaths which are either unexplained or occurred as a result of beatings and torture by the secret police.

One such case is that of Geza Palfi, already mentioned by Senator Heinz. Reverend Palfi had delivered a Christmas Eve sermon which was mildly critical of the fact that in Romania even Christmas is a compulsory workday. For this he was beaten and kicked for several hours. As a consequence, his liver burst apart, he suffered broken ribs, and died 2 months later of his injuries.

Similar instances of such brutality abound. I will not go into listing them here.

I would simply say in sum, Mr. Chairman, that the Romanian Government's intensified efforts over the past year to forcibly assimilate the Hungarian nationality in Transylvania more than justifies termination of its most-favored-nation status. We believe a clear and unequivocal signal must be sent to that repressive government that this subcommittee, this Congress, and this country will not tolerate such violations of basic human decency.

Thank you.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Collins.

[Mr. Hamos' written testimony follows:]

STATEMENT

BY THE

COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUMANIA

Supplementing the
Oral Testimony
of
László Hámos

on behalf of the
Committee for Human Rights in Rumania

before the
Subcommittee on International Trade
of the
Committee on Finance
United States Senate

at Hearings

ON A PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION TO CONTINUE THE WAIVER APPLICABLE TO THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF RUMANIA, AND TO EXTEND THE WAIVER AUTHORITY UNDER THE TRADE ACT OF 1974

Committee for Human Rights in Rumania
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August 8, 1984

STATEMENT

Mr. Chairman, the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania thanks this distinguished Subcommittee for holding these hearings, thereby keeping public attention focused on the human rights performance of the government of Rumania. The events of the past year have given particular urgency to continued public scrutiny of that country's gross violations of human rights.

This is the ninth consecutive year in which the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania is submitting a statement to this Subcommittee, and in which I am representing that Committee here as a witness. In previous years we presented detailed evidence of a systematic campaign by the Rumanian government to destroy the cultural identity of that country's Hungarian minority, numbering 2.5 million, through curtailment of its opportunities to preserve its language, culture, traditions and religious life. This intensive process is aimed at denationalizing the minority population and forcing its assimilation into the majority population.

One year ago at these hearings, we raised several alarming, specific examples to illustrate how the Rumanian government, beyond using its pervasive control over every facet of community life — its monopoly over every kind of organized activity — has, in recent years, increasingly resorted to sheer terror tactics: arrests, savage beatings, imprisonment, interrogations, mysterious disappearances, exile and forced psychiatric treatment, in order to intimidate an increasingly resentful minority population. Over the past twelve months, Mr. Chairman, such occurrences have sharply intensified, with capricious detentions, beatings by the secret police and unexplained disappearances becoming a depressing, commonplace reality for Hungarians — especially their intellectual and religious leaders — in Rumania. More important, Mr. Chairman, for the first time in our nine years of testifying at these hearings, we have the grim task of reporting several deaths which are either "unexplained" or occurred as a result of beatings and torture by the secret police.

Internal Underground Publications Monitor and Report Human Rights Abuses

Last year we reported on a Hungarian-language "samizdat" periodical entitled Ellenpontok (Counterpoints) which had been prepared and disseminated in Rumania in a total of 10 issues between December 1981 and January 1983. We also described the forcible dismantling of this periodical, with vicious beatings and other acts of revenge perpetrated by the Rumanian authorities against its youthful editors. Although the authorities were successful in disbanding this courageous publication, they were ultimately unable to prevent its vital function from continuing in another form.

On May 20, 1983, four months after Counterpoints had published its last issue, another group announced its formation. In its first release (see: Appendix, p. A-1), the group declared "the creation in Transylvania of the Transylvanian Hungarians' unofficial news agency, the Hungarian Press of Transylvania (HPT)," and further stated that "the well-known brutality of the Rumanian authorities constrains the editors of the news agency to conduct their activities anonymously and responsibly, and to exercise the utmost caution in protecting the safety of their news sources."

The Hungarian Press of Transylvania has fully lived up to its stated purpose of providing "reliable and detailed information concerning the unrestrained terror now prevailing in Rumania" (ibid.). From its formation until July 12, 1984, the group has issued 62 numbered and dated releases containing internal reports, often by first-hand observers, of the Ceausescu regime's newest repressive measures affecting the country's 3.5 million minority inhabitants (who include, aside from the Hungarians, sizeable numbers of Germans, Ukranians, Jews, Serbs, Greeks and others), as well as the general populace.

Attached to this statement as Appendices "A" through "F" are selected English translations, categorized by subject matter, of these revealing documents. We commend them to your attention, Mr. Chairman, as offering the most eloquent and authentic direct testimony to the ruthless, anti-minority practices instituted by the Ceausescu regime during the past year alone.

Continued Discrimination in the Educational System

One of the major lines of attack in Rumanian mistreatment of national minorities is institutionalized discrimination in the educational system. As we have shown in prior testimony before this Subcommittee, official Rumanian statistics indicate an alarming decline over the last three decades in the number of students allowed to attend Hungarian classes. The process by which the Rumanian government eliminates Hungarian schools began in 1959. Since that year, independent Hungarian schools have been systematically attached to Rumanian schools as mere sections, which, in turn, have been gradually phased out. The same process has been applied to institutions of higher education, beginning in March 1959 with the forced takeover of the independent Hungarian Bolyai University in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) by its Rumanian counterpart, the Babes University.

Today the indications are that the Rumanian authorities are about to bring the process to its culmination. According to Hungarian Press of Transylvania (hereinafter cited as "HPT") Release No. 14. 1984, by order dated April 4, 1984 of the Rumanian Ministry of Education, even the half-Hungarian designation of the "Babes-Bolyai University" has been abolished (Appendix, p. A-5). The authors of the HPT report conclude that based on past experience, this measure constitutes "an unmistakable sign that the Rumanian authorities intend to terminate once and for all higher education in the Hungarian language in Kolozsvár" (ibid.).

This assessment is supported by other recent measures. In July of 1983, the Ministry of Education reduced the already discriminatory quota of students allowed to major in Hungarian at the University of Kolozsvár from 25 to 15 (HPT Release No. 2/July 15, 1983; Appendix, p. A-2). Furthermore, the 23 graduates who had majored in Hungarian at that university this year "were forced to accept teaching positions outside of Transylvania, far from those territories where the Hungarian language is spoken. Instead of teaching their native Hungarian to native Hungarian speakers, their positions require them to teach various foreign languages to Rumanian speakers. The authorities instituted this measure despite the fact that there is a grave deficiency in the number of Hungarian teachers in Transylvania" (ibid).

The practice of routinely assigning Hungarian graduates of universities and trade schools to jobs outside their native communities, has long been used to break up compact Hungarian communities. Hungarians are sent into Rumanian areas and Rumanians into Hungarian districts. As a result, the displaced Hungarians are cut off from their ethnic roots, and their children have no opportunity to attend Hungarian schools. More important, the Hungarian minority is deprived of doctors, lawyers and other professionals who speak their own language.

The latest manifestation of this practice — sending Hungarian schoolteachers to teach in Rumanian schools — not only violates the individual rights of the schoolteachers affected, but ties in directly with efforts to destroy those schools and classes still teaching in the Hungarian language. According to the HPT editors, this new measure "constitutes a departure in method. Whereas previously the authorities had tried to limit Hungarian-language instruction through the manipulation of class size at local schools, now the authorities are accelerating the process of forced assimilation by restricting the number of Hungarian teachers available " (Appendix, p. A-2).

Even in those cases where Hungarian students are able to gain admission to institutions of higher education, the fact of their national origin is a source of constant danger and potentially grave consequences for them. A recent case will illustrate this point: Ten students from the Academy of Fine Arts in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) were interrogated by the secret police, and two of them were expelled, after the interrogations had determined that they were "'maintaining contact with citizens of Hungary,' and . . . allowing Western, Hungarian ideals to influence their work, thus 'denying the values of Socialist Rumanian culture' " (HPT Release No. 28/June 6, 1984; Appendix, p. A-6).

The Stirring of Ethnic Animosities and Chauvinistic Sentiments

In keeping with the tradition of tyrannies which feed the people on nationalism in order to divert their attention from immediate hardships, Rumania's deepening economic crisis has brought on an ever more virulent appeal to the basest kind of national chauvinism and to sentiments of hatred against the "barbarian intruders," the Hungarian minority. Such labeling of Hungarians has been appearing in officially sanctioned publications with increasing regularity and openness. "Scholarly" works — written by such obviously well-qualified authorities as the Rumanian dictator's own brother (see: Appendix, p. A-12) — struggle to prove the superiority of Rumania's history over that of the Hungarians. The odiousness of such efforts, aside from their lack of intellectual integrity, lies primarily in the fact that they are used to deliberately malign and denigrate the inferior beings (the national minorities), thereby directing the hostility of the public and the force of official policy against them.

Recent examples of such primitive diatribes are simply too numerous and convoluted to analyse here in any detail. It is important to recognize however, that they are not the isolated works of individual extremists, but are directly representative of the views of the Communist Party leadership. Referring to one particularly virulent exponent of this school, a report by the Hungarian Press of Transylvania pointed out that

> "the ultra-nationalistic views expressed by [Ion] Lancranjan constitute the virtually unanimously held political creed of the Rumanian Communist Party leadership. That such is the case is also suggested by the fact that the Party subsequently made it possible for Lancranjan to publish an even more extremist article which labels the entire Hungarian people as fascistic." (HPT Release No. 3/August 3, 1983; Appendix, p. A-8)

The same release reported on a book published in March 1983, entitled Elucidation of Facts (Fapte Dir Umbra, Bucharest: The Political Press):

> "The book constitutes a shocking step forward in the fashioning of an ideological rationale for the deprivation of the human rights of Hungarians living in Rumania. Individual case descriptions are woven into the fabric of the book in order to make Transylvanian Hungarians emerge, to unsuspecting readers, as an alien and hostile body, a kind of fifth column of Hungary, which is the arch enemy . . . The book depicts a past in which Hungarians were the perpetual warmongers. Projecting this analysis into the future, it portrays Hungarians — who demand the righting of their wrongs — as threats to world peace and stability (pp. 141-142). As absurd or insane as this line of reasoning may appear, it must be taken very seriously, because it expresses the ideological needs of a regime engaged in the physical and spiritual humiliation of millions, an oppression of a magnitude which has no equal in Europe today." (Appendix, p. A-8)

Another recent book, this time a novel entitled Deception (Ademenirea, Cluj-Napoca: Dacia Press, 1983) by Romulus Zaharia,

> "bears tell-tale signs identifying it with the regime which afflicts Rumania today. That the signs are recognizeable is not surprising, since it was the Party which ordered several rewritings to intensify the innuendos, and since it was a commissioned work in the first place. For we can have many doubts concerning this volume, but of one thing we can be certain: that those at the very top, those most responsible (if such words can be used to describe the leaders of the RCP) commissioned the writing of this roman a clef. The book represents a new milestone in the effort to generate hostility toward the Hungarians of Transylvania, and in the endeavor to lay the ideological foundations for their eventual annihilation." (HPT Release No. 23/November 24, 1983; Appendix, p. A-11)

Beatings, Imprisonment, Disappearances and Murders of Minority Individuals

In order to implement more effectively its campaign of forced assimilation, the Rumanian government regularly subjects minority individuals to personal harassment, intimidation and other coercive techniques. Hungarians are made to live under the perpetual threat of persecution, which they know can be instituted against them for the slightest assertion of their cultural rights, for their refusal to agree to and participate actively in the curtailment of those rights, or even for the mere fact that they happen to be Hungarian. These strong-arm tactics are carried out by the notorious Rumanian secret police, the Securitate.

Several recent cases are summarized below:

- Géza Pálfi, parish priest from Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc), was arrested on December 25, 1983 by the Securitate after delivering a Christmas Eve sermon mildly critical of the fact that in Rumania even Christmas is a compulsory work day. "He was beaten and kicked for several hours as a consequence of which his liver burst, he suffered broken ribs, and his kidneys were damaged" (HPT Release No. 10/March 21, 1984; Appendix, p. A-17). As a result of these injuries he was hospitalized until his death in February. He was 43 years old. His death certificate, issued by the Securitate, named "cancer of the liver" as the official cause of death. Of course, legal recourse against the aggressors is unthinkable. Rev. Pálfi was buried on March 15, 1984.

- Árpád Visky, a 44 year-old actor with the Hungarian Theater in Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe), was arrested for no apparent reason on February 24, 1983 (Appendix, pp. A-18 to A-22). He was reportedly charged with "slandering Rumania, the Rumanian people and the socialist system," and of "disseminating hostile propaganda" (HPT Release No. 5/September 1, 1983). On August 7, 1983, Visky was tried and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment by a Bucharest military court. To date, he has spent in excess of 18 months in a Bucharest prison.

- Ernő Borbély, a 32 year old secondary school teacher, and Katalin Bíró, a building engineer in her 20's, were arrested on November 23, 1982 after extensive house-searches at their homes in Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc) (Appendix, pp. A-23 to A-27). It cannot be known what charges were brought against them, only that they were tried in secret court in Bucharest sometime in February or March of 1983. Borbély was, according to unconfirmed reports, sentenced to six years imprisonment for "treason," while it is not known whether Bíró was convicted or received a suspended sentence. In any case, nothing was known of their whereabouts for six months after their arrest. All that can be determined about what may have precipitated their fate is that they were suspected of smuggling copies of anti-Hungarian fliers (see Appendix, p. A-7) out of the country, that they "had expressed indignation at the official reaction to the fliers as one bordering on solidarity with the authors of the fliers . . . and that the two had expressed their belief that the fliers had been prepared with the active participation of the Rumanian state security apparatus" (HPT Release No. 6/September 2, 1983; Appendix, p. A-24).

- László Buzás, a draftsman from Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), was arrested on March 23, 1983 after a series of police interrogations commencing on November 22, 1983, the day before the arrests of Ernő Borbély and Katalin Bíró (Appendix, pp. A-24 to A-27). He is a friend of theirs, and his case is believed to be connected with the charges brought against them. He was sentenced to six years imprisonment for "treason." During his interrogation, he was severely tortured, "his nails were ripped out" (Appendix, p. A-27).

- Béla Páll, a teacher of mathematics at the high school in Ditró (Ditrau) was arrested on or about April 30, 1983, upon his return from a perfectly legal visit to Hungary (Appendix, pp. A-28 and A-40). It is known that in November 1983 he was sentenced, but not on what charges. It is also known that he is being held in Bucharest, presumably in the psychiatric ward of a prison hospital. In the 1950's, Páll had written memoranda criticizing the elimination of Hungarian educational opportunities. Since that time he has been continually harassed, committed to psychiatric institutions on several occasions and eventually forced into early retirement.

- According to a Hungarian Press of Transylvania report, (HPT Release No. 13/April 12, 1984; Appendix p. A-29), five more Hungarians have disappeared in Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc). House searches were held in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) on October 25 and 26, 1983 (Appendix, p. A-30). Among the victims was Zsolt Gálfalvi, an editor of a Hungarian literary periodical. The apparent reason was to find incriminating evidence and information concerning the editors of the Hungarian Press of Transylvania.

- Rev. István Tőkés was dismissed as Professor of Theology at the Protestant Theological Seminary in November 1983 (Appendix, p. A-31). On May 24, 1984 he was also relieved of his position as Assistant Bishop in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and of his editorship of Református Szemle (Reformed Review) (Appendix, p. A-35). These moves are believed to have been made as part of a drive by Rumanian authorities to rid the Hungarian Reformed Church in Transylvania of its more independent-thinking leaders. Rev. István Tőkés is a highly renowned and respected teacher and man of the cloth. He holds several honorary doctorates from distinguished universities abroad.

- Rev. László Tőkés, a son of István Tőkés, and also a minister of the Hungarian Reformed Church was, in May 1984, banished from his congregation in Dés (Dej) to the isolated village of Mezőszentpéter (Appendix, p. A-32 to A-35). The reason given was that he was guilty of damaging relations between the Reformed Church and the Rumanian state. The real reason is that he was emerging as one of the most well-loved and effective ministers in Transylvania.

- Géza Szőcs, renowned poet and editor of the disbanded samizdat periodical Ellenpontok (Counterpoints), continues to be harassed (Appendix, pp. A-36 to A-37). The latest incident occurred on December 31, 1983 in Nagyvárad (Oradea), where he went by train from his home in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) to visit a friend. Both he and his friend, Loránd Kertész, were taken into custody at the train station by the Securitate. After a three hour detention, Szőcs was placed on a train to Kolozsvár and told he was "banished forever from the territory of Nagyvárad" (HPT Release No. 1/January 8, 1984; Appendix, p. A-36).

- Ibolya Szabó, mother of the above-mentioned Loránd Kertész, died of a heart attack following several brutal interrogations by the Securitate (Appendix, p. A-36). Her younger son, Attila Kertész, a resident of Budapest, was taken into custody at her funeral and underwent several hours of police interrogation (Appendix, p. A-37).

- Géza Láposi, schoolteacher and Hungarian cultural leader from the village of Magyardécse, disappeared three years ago, about three weeks after he was interviewed for the Hungarian-language broadcast of Rumanian National Television (Appendix, p. A-39 to A-40). The occasion which prompted the interview was that one of the village's performing arts groups had won an award at a countrywide cultural festival. Láposi, who was the director of the local cultural center, played a leading role in the village's lively cultural life. He vanished in early winter, and his remains turned up the following summer in a dried-up swamp outside the village. There is little doubt among Transylvanian-Hungarians that he would be alive today had his exemplary leadership in Hungarian cultural life not received so much attention.

- Ferenc Wisky, a former pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church was forcibly retired and banished from his church and home in April 1983 (Appendix, p. A-38). "He was popular among the young people but had refused to cooperate with the authorities and would not complete the form giving information about his work. 300 books belonging to Rev. Wisky and a friend were confiscated in May and he is regularly being interrogated" (ibid.). Rev. Wisky has already served many years in prison, and there are fears of his imminent arrest.

- On February 7, 1983, Sándor Dienes, a 28 year-old Reformed minister, was sentenced to two years imprionment for his involvement with the Hungarian-language samizdat periodical Ellenpontok (Counterpoints) (Appendix, p. A-38).

New Official Measures Curtail Opportunities for Minority Cultural Expression

In view of the already discussed decline in Hungarian educational opportunities and the increasing denationalization of Hungarian communities, it is hardly surprising that the same policy of curtailment and elimination permeates minority cultural life as well. The following are some recent examples of this discriminatory process:

- "The authorities are systematically dismissing those journalists who in their estimation are not willing to serve the Party leadership fully and without reservation" (HPT Release No. 20/November 21, 1983; Appendix, p. A-42). Sándor Huszár, editor, and Andor Horváth, assistant editor of the Hungarian-language cultural weekly A Hét (The Week) have been fired on a trumped-up, flimsy excuse. The real reason is to undermine the one periodical "which had not only been most consistent in its defense of minority interests, but from time to time even found the means to give expression, albeit veiled, to the population's mood of increasing desperation and defiance in the face of terror" (HPT Release No. 11/November 5, 1984; Appendix, p. A-41). Needless to say, A Hét has undergone a total cultural and moral decline.

- The Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party has ordered an investigation into the activities of Kriterion Press, Rumania's publisher of books in the languages of the national minorities. The measure ominously portends the demise of "one of the primary institutions providing actual protection for the interests of Rumania's minorities" (HPT Release No. 6/March 10, 1984; Appendix, p. A-44).

- Reports abound of imminent job dismissals aimed against Rumania's minority intellectual community. One such report is of a "double list" compiled by the Party, of Hungarian intellectuals. The list's criteria are "ideological reliability and loyalty toward the Rumanian people" (HPT Release No. 12/November 5, 1983; Appendix,

p. A-49). For every important job there will be two names kept on record: one from the "list of reliables," who could at any moment replace his counterpart appearing on the "list of unreliables." It is believed in Hungarian intellectual circles that the firing of the two chief editors of the periodical A Hét (The Week) was but the first manifestation of this policy.

- According to another report, the number of persons employed as intellectuals, especially in the arts, will be cut by 40% in all of Rumania. "News of this decision was greeted with anxiety among the national minorities, who expect that Hungarian and German minority intellectuals will be the first to lose their jobs" (HPT Release No. 27/December 15, 1983; Appendix, p. A-51).

- Ceremonies and publications marking the centennial of the birth of Károly Kós, a leading Twentieth Century cultural and spiritual figure of Transylvanian Hungarians have been prohibited (Appendix, p. A-52). Apparently, the Rumanian authorities are involved in manufacturing a campaign against the memory of Károly Kós — whom all Hungarians regard as a great architect, writer and humanist — on the slanderous charge that he was an agent of Miklós Horthy (Regent of Hungary when that country was an ally of Nazi Germany). In this regard, István Csurka, a leading writer in Hungary had the following to say in a letter written in the fall of 1983:

> "[I]f Kós can be taken out of circulation on grounds of being a nationalist and an accomplice of Horthy, then the rug is effectively pulled out from under Hungarian culture in Rumania. If Kós can be labeled a fascist . . . then . . . no Hungarian writer can feel safe. With his entire life, with his every action and with every line he wrote, Kós served the purest, most enlightened and noblest ideals of the equality, fraternity and harmony amoung the peoples living side by side in Transylvania. He did this as a Hungarian. If it is forbidden to print Kós's name in Rumania, then it is forbidden to be Hungarian." (Appendix, p. A-53)

- Another great Hungarian cultural figure has received this treatment in Rumania. All ceremonies and publications commemorating the two hundreth anniversary of the birth of Sándor Kőrösi Csoma, the Transylvanian Hungarian scholar, explorer and author of the first Tibetan-English dictionary, have been prohibited (Appendix, p. A-54). In April 1984, the Securitate detained and physically abused residents of Csomakőrös (Chiurus), Kőrösi-Csoma's birthplace, in an effort to intimidate them into not welcoming visitors to the village on the occasion of the anniversary. As a result, "on April 12 and the days which followed, Csomakörös gave the impression of being an uninhabited place, the locals not daring to step out of their houses" (HPT Release No. 20/April 18, 1984; Appendix, p. A-55).

- One of the tactics the Ceausescu regime uses in its assimilationist efforts against the Hungarians of Rumania is to isolate them from their ethnic kin in Hungary. This isolation takes several forms. The Hungarian minority is intellectually and spiritually isolated in part through severe restrictions on the number of books and periodicals imported from Hungary, and through the routine confiscation of Hungarian books from those entering Rumania, both visitors and citizens returning home. Victims of the more and more frequent house searches usually have all their Hungarian books confiscated by the secret police, even if no incriminating evidence is found. Another way in which the Hungarians of Rumania are isolated is physically. The Rumanian authorities are increasingly limiting the possibility of contact between the Hungarians of Transylvania and those living in Hungary. Decree/Law 255 (1974), which prohibits the accomodation of non-Rumanian citizens in private homes with the exception of closest relatives, is obviously designed for this purpose. Of all citizens of Rumania, the Hungarians have by far the most friends and relatives abroad (i.e. in Hungary).

A new development is that such contacts, however legal, are being routinely labeled as manifestations of anti-Rumanian nationalism. These contacts therefore bring on intervention by the Securitate. One recent example: A program of bicycle tours by young people to points of interest in Transylvania was arbitrarily halted and dispersed by secret police agents because "the presence in the group of four citizens of Hungary . . . could give rise to 'chauvinist agitation' " (HPT Release No. 9/October 1, 1983; Appendix, p. A-56).

- Another recent example was an arbitrary closing of border crossings between Rumania and Hungary during peak traffic hours at the start of holidays (HPT Release No. 13/November 7, 1983; Appendix, p. A-57).

- Once in Rumania, citizens of Hungary are made to feel unwelcome by the authorities. Rumania maintains certain stores where, upon presentation of a passport, citizens of other countries may purchase foodstuffs unavailable to Rumanian citizens. "On November 1, 1983 a new, secret directive was issued which forbids the sale of the merchandise in question to persons bearing Hungarian passports" (HPT Release No. 14/November 8, 1983; Appendix, p. A-58).

Administrative Measures Relegate Members of National Minorities to the Status of Second Class Citizens

- Since the late 1950's, the Rumanian state has continuously focused its efforts on diminishing the significance of the presence of large numbers of Hungarians living within its borders. The latest instance of this process is the contemplated redistricting of the largely Hungarian-inhabited county of Kovászna (Covasna). By assigning its various portions to the surrounding counties, the compact ethnic character of Kovászna County will be lost, and "the city of Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe), the majority of whose inhabitants are Hungarian, would lose its standing as the county seat" (HPT Release No. 19/April 15, 1984; Appendix, p. A-59).

- The forcible suppression of bilingualism is a major blight afflicting the Hungarian minority of Rumania. Though that country is a multi-national state with large national minority groups -- a fact which has undeniable consequences according to international law applicable to such minorities -- Rumanian is the only language tolerated at all levels of governmental bureaucracy, in the courts, in marriage ceremonies, even on traffic safety signs. The list could go on and on without even mentioning the grievous lack of Hungarian-language educational opportunities. The latest measure in depriving the Hungarian minority of the use of its native tongue involves those working in Transylvanian cities in the service capacities, as taxi drivers, salespersons and hotel attendants. They "have been ordered 'not to use the Hungarian language' " (HPT Release No. 23/April 26, 1984; Appendix, p. A-59).

Conclusion

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me say that the Rumanian government's intensified efforts over the past year to forcibly assimilate the Hungarian nationality in Transylvania, through the gross human rights abuses outlined above, more than justifies termination of its Most Favored Nation status. A clear and unequivocal signal must once and for all be sent to that repressive government that this Subcommittee, this Congress, this country will not tolerate such violations of international agreements and basic human decency.

APPENDICES:

Selected First-Hand Reports Documenting Rumania's Human Rights Record during the Past Twelve Months

APPENDIX A

Hungarians in Rumania Create the "Hungarian Press of Transylvania" to Regularly Monitor and Report Internal Human Rights Abuses

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 1/1983 May 20, 1983

On May 20, 1983, the creation in Transylvania of the Transylvanian Hungarians' unofficial news agency, the Hungarian Press of Transylvania (HPT), was announced. The well-known brutality of the Rumanian authorities constrains the editors of the news agency to conduct their activities anonymously and responsibly, and to exercise the utmost caution in protecting the safety of their news sources.

The work of the news agency is not linked with any domestic or foreign opposition group, underground publication or publisher. Its contacts abroad are restricted to the transmission of information through informal channels, in accordance with international custom.

The sole purpose of the news agency is to provide reliable and detailed information concerning the unrestrained terror now prevailing in Rumania to all concerned, and to all who are rendered concerned by their sympathy for the fate of Transylvania's Hungarians.

APPENDIX B

Rumanian Authorities Impose New Discriminatory Measures In the Educational System

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 2/1983 July 15, 1983

It is compulsory for students graduating from universities in Rumania to accept the jobs which are assigned to them.

This year the 23 graduates who had majored in Hungarian at the University of Babes-Bolyai in Kolozsvár were forced to accept teaching positions outside of Transylvania, far from those territories where the Hungarian language is spoken. Instead of teaching their native Hungarian to native Hungarian speakers, their positions require them to teach various foreign languages to Rumanian speakers. The authorities instituted this measure despite the fact that there is a grave deficiency in the number of Hungarian teachers in Transylvania. The measure is unprecedented even when measured against the highly discriminatory nationality policies already being carried out by the Rumanian Communist Party.

At the same time, the Ministry of Education reduced the numerical quota of students allowed to major in Hungarian at the Babes-Bolyai University from 25 to 15.

The obvious goal of these measures is to gradually eliminate Hungarian-language instruction in schools throughout the country. The measures however, constitute a departure in method. Whereas previously the authorities had tried to limit Hungarian-language instruction through the manipulation of class size at local schools, now the authorities are accelerating the process of forced assimilation by restricting the number of Hungarian teachers available and by assigning them to work in remote areas.

These measures, moreover, were instituted in July of 1983, when Rumania had once again attained renewal of its Most Favored Nation status from the United States.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 19/1983 November 21, 1983

At the beginning of November, department chairmen at the Babes-Bolyai University in Kolozsvár received an official announcement from the Minister of Education. The document stated that henceforth university employees may travel abroad, even as tourists, only with special permission from the Ministry.

Since for years faculty members had only rarely been allowed to travel to the West, observers are of the opinion that this new measure can only be directed against Hungarian faculty members, for whom permission to travel "abroad" usually meant travel to Hungary.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 26/1983 December 10, 1983

The Rumanian authorities have begun liquidating the Hungarian sections of the POPULAR UNIVERSITIES (Hungarian: Népi Egyetemek, Rumanian: Universitati Populare).

At the popular university in Dés (Dej) all Hungarian-language courses, which had been started five years ago, were summarily terminated.

In Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), the courses entitled "Language Cultivation" and "The World of the Beautiful" were abolished and replaced with courses on the history of Rumania and the Rumanian Communist Party, to be taught in the Hungarian language.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 14/1984 April 5, 1984

On April 4, 1984 (yesterday), the name "Babes-Bolyai University" was abolished by order of the Ministry of Education. From now on, the university will be called Kolozsvár University (Universitatea din Cluj-Napoca).

It should be recalled that in 1959, the first step immediately prior to the elimination of the Bolyai University in Kolozsvár (then functioning as an independent Hungarian institution), was to change its name. Within the institutional structure of the new "Babes-Bolyai University," reductions in Hungarian as a language of instruction went on for decades, paralleling severe cut-backs in the number of Hungarian students admitted to the university. The present measure is an unmistakable sign that the Rumanian authorities intend to terminate once and for all higher education in the Hungarian language in Kolozsvár.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 28/1984 June 6, 1984

Ten students from the Ion Andrescu Academy of Fine Arts in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) were interrogated for several days without interruption by the Rumanian state security apparatus, the Securitate. Two of the students were expelled from the school.

During the interrogation, the students were accused of "maintaining contact with citizens of Hungary," and of allowing Western, Hungarian ideals to influence their work, thus "denying the values of Socialist Rumanian culture."

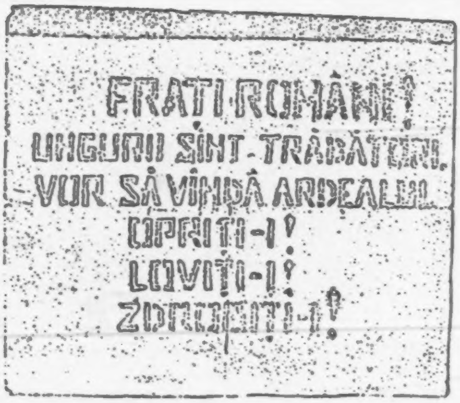
APPENDIX C

The Rumanian Regime Seeks to Direct the People's Attention Away From Their Everyday Economic Misery by Kindling Chauvinistic Sentiments, Stirring Ethnic Animosities and Shifting the Blame for Economic Hardship Onto the Minorities

APPENDIX C/1

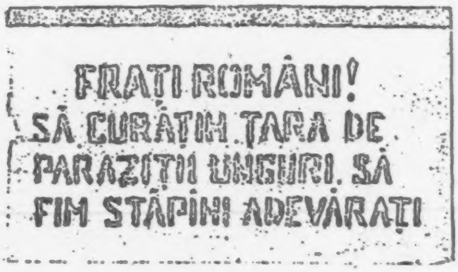
Flyers Posted in Transylvania Openly Incite Rumanians Against Hungarians

[Translation from Rumanian:]



FRATI ROMÂNI!
UNGURII SÎNT - TRĂDĂTORI.
VOR SĂ VÎNDĂ ARDEALUL.
OPRIȚI-I!
LOVIȚI-I!
ZDROBIȚI-I!

RUMANIAN BROTHERS!
THE HUNGARIANS ARE TRAITORS,
THEY WANT TO GIVE TRANSYLVANIA AWAY.
STOP THEM!
BEAT THEM!
TEAR THEM ASUNDER!



FRAȚI ROMÂNI!
SĂ CURĂȚIM ȚARA DE
PARAZIȚII UNGURI. SĂ
FIM STĂPÎNI ADEVĂRAȚI

RUMANIAN BROTHERS!
RID THE COUNTRY
OF THE HUNGARIAN PARASITES
SO THAT WE CAN BE ITS TRUE POSSESSORS!

APPENDIX C/2

Officially-Sanctioned Publications Defame and Stigmatize the Hungarian Population

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 3/1983 August 1, 1983

For many years now, with the consent — indeed, the encouragement — of the Rumanian Party leadership, publications have appeared in Rumania which strive directly, on the one hand, to provoke hostility against ethnic minorities and indirectly, on the other hand, to provide an ideological framework for the Rumanian Communist Party's discriminatory, anti-minority policies. The best-known example of this genre is the book Cuvint despre Transilvania (A Word About Transylvania) by Ion Lancranjan, which provoked the indignation of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania and led to diplomatic tensions between Hungary and Rumania.

The Rumanian authorities, taken aback somewhat by public opinion in Hungary and the West — which universally condemned the book — attempted to create the impression that publication of the book was a mere accident, and that its contents were only the author's private opinions. To close observers of Rumania however, it is clear that the ultra-nationalistic views expressed by Lancranjan constitute the virtually unanimous political creed of the Rumanian Communist Party leadership. That such is the case is also suggested by the fact that the Party subsequently made it possible for Lancranjan to publish an even more extremist article which labels the entire Hungarian people as fascistic. The title of the article is This is the Absolutely Pure Truth: On the Horthyist Cruelty in the Northern Part of Transylvania in August 1940, After the Vienna Diktat Was Forced upon Rumania. The article was not published in an official Rumanian organ, but in a periodical published by an Italian company which is financed by the Ceausescu regime. In addition, the article was immediately reissued in several languages, and the Rumanian embassies in the West made every effort to send it to all persons and organizations deemed important to them.

At the same time, in March of this year, The Political Press of Bucharest published a book by Cosma Neagu and Dr. Dumitru Marinescu entitled Fapte Dir Umbra (Elucidation of Facts). The book is the fourth volume in a series which deals with the different periods in Rumania's history, summarizing, taking stock, judging and, at times, "documenting."

[...]

The book constitutes a shocking step forward in the fashioning of an ideological rationale for the deprivation of the human rights of Hungarians living in Rumania. Individual case descriptions are woven into the fabric of the book in order to make Transylvanian Hungarians emerge, to unsuspecting readers, as an alien and hostile body, a kind of a fifth column of Hungary, which is the arch enemy. (The description of an alleged Hungarian conspiracy in Transylvania in the 1940's is a good example of this device.) The book differs from Lancranjan's in that it contains no criticism of the Communist Party or state leadership of Hungary. Instead, it constitutes a general, across the board indictment of Hungary and all Hungarians. The authors present World War II in terms of a Rumanian-Hungarian conflict in which — in line with the views of the Ceausescu regime — the Rumanians always exerted themselves on the side of defending of democracy, while the Hungarians always fought on the other side. The book depicts a past in which Hungarians are the perpetual warmongers. Projecting this analysis into the future, it portrays Hungarians -- who demand the righting of their wrongs -- as threats to world peace and stability (pp. 141-142). As absurd or insane as this line of reasoning may appear, it must be taken very seriously, because it expresses the ideological needs of a regime engaged in the physical and spiritual humiliation of millions, an oppression of a magnitude which has no equal in Europe today.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 23/1983 November 24, 1983

The Dacia Press in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) this year published a novel by ROMULUS ZAHARIA entitled Ademenirea (Deception). We have been informed that the Kolozs (Cluj) County Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party had serious objections in connection with the tactical role the book would play, as well as its uncertain political consequences. They had the author rewrite the work several times, and word has it that one of the local Party activists inserted those changes which, while toning down the novel's fundamentally chauvinist tenor, nevertheless left intact its tendentious character.

Zaharia's novel is one of a series of works inspired by an effort to re-evaluate Rumanian history by stressing a new ideology of national consciousness. It differs from Lancranjan's "essay" only in that it is a roman a clef, the characters being easily identifiable as several, still-living Transylvanian public figures. It is precisely the "intangible nature" of the novel as a literary form which allowed the writer to express his opinion not only in general, but in concrete terms about questions which, until now, the region's nationality antagonisms and political makeup would not have tolerated. The novel's ambiguity made it possible for the author to engage in political provocation, distortion of historical facts and libel against individuals.

The historical conception of the novel is based on the conviction that centuries of Hungarian presence in the region made the Rumanians an oppressed, servile people. Indeed, according to the novel, the same applies to the immediate past, the recent "revolutionary transformation." The Hungarians — with Soviet assistance, of course — became the vassals of the Party apparatus and directed the course of social development in such a way as to threaten the country with denationalization. Based on this reasoning, Zaharia concludes that in order to assert the country's national identity, it is the primary and indispensible duty of the present leader of the Rumanian Communist Party — whom he naturally deifies beyond measure, and at whose behest, presumably, the novel was ultimately published — to maintain a certain tactical anti-Soviet stance, grounded in nationalism. Moreover, according to the novel it is also the Ceausescu regime's rightful duty to revise the history of the Communist movement, and to disavow the Hungarian-Jewish-Communist Party leadership of the past, whose activities and mischiefs involved the cultivation of links to — suprising development! — fascism.

[...]

Zaharia's book has no literary merit. Its plot structure is glaringly primitive, its language lacks refinement, and, it is full of syncretic mistakes. The novel is a self-portrait of a person observing history from the outside and from below — especially in terms of its moral perspective. It bears tell-tale signs identifying it with the regime which afflicts Rumania today. That the signs are recognizeable is not surprising, since it was the Party which ordered several rewritings to intensify the innuendos, and since it was a commissioned work in the first place. For we can have many doubts concerning this volume, but of one thing we can be certain: that those at the very top, those most responsible (if such words can be used to describe the leaders of the RCP) commissioned the writing of this roman a clef. The book represents a new milestone in the effort to generate hostility toward the Hungarians of Transylvania, and in the endeavor to lay the ideological foundations for their eventual annihilation.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 18/1984 April 12, 1984

One of the Rumanian chief of state's younger brothers, Colonel-General ILIE CEAUSESCU, Assistant Minister of Defense, has published a book entitled Transylvania, an Ancient Rumanian Land (Bucharest: Military Press), 1983.

The volume is an attempt to sum up those political arguments which seek to justify the formation and perpetuation of the "unitary Rumanian national state" on historical, geographic and racial grounds alike. It contains nothing which has not already been enumerated in previous propagandistic diatribes, which try to prove the following:

1.) In Europe, the Rumanian people are the only rightful heirs to the cultural legacy left behind by the Roman empire.
2.) Ilie Ceausescu also introduces a new element into the official view of history concerning Rumania's behavior during the Second World War. The book surpasses the previous historical distortions by minimizing or summarily omitting mention of Rumania's connections with the Axis Powers, while grotesquely turning Rumania's switching of sides in 1944 into virtually the decisive factor in the outcome of the entire war.
3.) A new element in this propagandistic slant on events is the emphasis on the "anti-imperialist" nature of Rumania's August 23, 1944 withdrawal from the Axis alliance. In this way, the book seeks to give historical legitimacy to its openly avowed anti-Hungarianism.

With regard to the last point, it is commonly known that in 1940 the so-called Second Vienna Arbitration restored Northern Transylvania to Hungary, thereby somewhat rectifying the injustices committed against the Hungarians after the First World War. In every major analysis since that time, these injustices have been classified as "imperialist", with Rumania named as an "imperialist aggressor". Now, Rumanian propaganda is endeavoring to shift the burdensome consequences of this analysis onto the Hungarians. Ilie Ceausescu's book moves this effort one step further by characterizing the thousand-year presence of Hungarians not only in Transylvania, but in the entire Carpathian Basin, as imperialist aggression.

APPENDIX C/3

Rabbi Rosen Is Mobilized To Make Defamatory, Anti-Hungarian Statements

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 17/1984 April 11, 1984

A speech by MOSES ROSEN, chief Rabbi of Bucharest, made in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) during the celebration of Chanukah, has provoked a great deal of controversy among Transylvanian Jews.

In analyzing the behavior of the Rumanian and Hungarian peoples during the war, the Rabbi concluded that while the Rumanians did everything possible to save the Jews, the Hungarians handed them over to Hitler's occupation forces.

Transylvanian Jewish circles have pointed out that "Rosen wanted to perform a service for Ceausescu by making this anti-Hungarian and completely false accusation." The members of these circles consider themselves "Jewish in terms of religion, and Hungarian by nationality." By reason of the latter affiliation, they reject the Rabbi's attempt to malign their native language, culture and those unique characteristics to which they adhere even in the practice of their religion.

They further noted, "the Jews of Transylvania have not forgotten that while more than a hundred thousand Jews were murdered in Rumania during the early 1940's, no atrocities were committed in Transylvania until the Germans invaded, and even after that there were no mass murders."

The Jewish circles quoted above also remarked that Rabbi Rosen has apparently forgotten to apply the lesson of our century — that after Auschwitz, all anti-Semitism is fascism — to current conditions in Rumania. In their opinion, flare-ups of anti-Semitism in Rumania occurred not only in the past, but are an ever-increasing characteristic of the present as well. Thus, Rabbi Rosen's irresponsible political concessions will serve only to provide the state leadership with further excuses for its anti-Semitism, placing the Jews even more at its mercy.

[Translation from Hungarian]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 24/1984 April 30, 1984

There are growing signs that the Rumanian Party leadership is endeavoring to incite the country's oppressed minorities against each other.

Part of this policy is the anti-Hungarian campaign of Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, who — acting on what are commonly known as the wishes of the Party leadership — strives from time to time to arouse feelings of anti-Semitism among the Hungarians of Transylvania. As pointed out in one of our earlier reports (No. 17, dated April 3, 1984), Jews in Transylvania consider themselves to be Hungarian by nationality, and therefore many of them are outraged by Rabbi Rosen's servile statements, which will ultimately prove harmful to the Jews in particular.

We have just been informed that certain officers of the Rumanian state security forces (the notorious Securitate) have, in the course of interrogations, urged Transylvanian Hungarians to form some kind of "Rumanian-Hungarian alliance against the Jewish and Transylvanian German traitors," who supposedly "are prepared to do anything for the Securitate just to be allowed to leave Rumania."

Hungarian opposition circles in Transylvania have responded by noting that they, too, urge a joining of forces among Rumania's peoples, but reject even the suggestion that it be accomplished under the aegis of the Securitate or any similar terrorist organization. They also pointed out that the most harmful thing for the peoples of Rumania would be their naive and uncritical acceptance of the Party leadership's divisive propagandistic phraseology, whose only purpose is to pit these peoples against one another in order to maintain the present social injustices and the Party's reign under Ceausescu.

APPENDIX C/4

Explosion at Statue of Rumanian National Hero In Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe) Is Apparently an Officially-Inspired Provocation

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 29/1984 June 8, 1984

According to several independently confirmed reports, on June 7 (yesterday), an explosion occurred at the statue of MIHAI VITEAZUL, located in a public square of Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe). According to eyewitnesses, the monument suffered damages.

Erection of the statue in 1980 aroused widespread indignation in this mostly Hungarian-inhabited city. Under the personality cult and extreme nationalism maintained by the Ceausescu regime, the figure of Mihai Viteazul plays a key symbolic role as Ceausescu's political ideal. Thus, installation of the monument was considered a humiliating provocation not only by the residents of Sepsiszentgyörgy, but by all Transylvanian Hungarians.

Nevertheless, our sources are all of the opinion that the explosion was the work of the Rumanian authorities themselves, who sought in this way to shift responsibility for the ever-increasing terror in Transylvania onto the Hungarians.

APPENDIX D

Harassment, Intimidation, Beatings and Imprisonment of Minority Persons Grows More Severe, Results in Several Known Deaths

APPENDIX D/1

The Case of Géza Pálfi, Hungarian Priest from Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc), Beaten to Death

Report on the Death of Rev. Géza Pálfi Received from Sources in Rumania, April 1984

GÉZA PÁLFI, [Roman Catholic] parish priest from Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc), was killed at the age of 43 by the Rumanian Secret Police (Securitate) because of a statement he made. At the 1983 Christmas Eve mass he dared to mention to the congregation that while in Hungary Christmas Sunday was declared a public holiday, in Rumania even Christmas Sunday was declared a work day throughout the country. The next morning, the Székelyudvarhely secret police dragged him off and beat him half to death. The blows were aimed with particular care at his liver, which as a result, literally split apart. He was taken to Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), where after two months of unsuccessful treatment, he died — at 43 years of age!! The autopsy, the forensic report and so on were kept completely secret, and the official cause of death identified in his death certificate was "cancer of the liver". As an act of public demonstration, 206 priests attended his funeral.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 10/1984 March 21, 1984

On March 15, 1984, Géza Pálfi, the parish priest murdered by the Rumanian state security forces, was buried in Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc) in the presence of 206 clergymen, who, together with the attending faithful, comprised what could be called a mass demonstration.

Pálfi, who was 43 years old at the time of his death, had delivered a sermon on Christmas in which he voiced his objection to the fact that while "in Hungary, in deference to God and the centuries old traditions of the people, Christmas is a national holiday during which there is no work, in Rumania at the same time it is a countrywide workday." Pálfi also noted that this was only one of the restrictions placed on freedom of religion in Rumania.

The very next day the Securitate dragged the clergyman out of his parish church, located in the upper part of town. According to very reliable sources, he was beaten and kicked for several hours as a consequence of which his liver burst, he suffered broken ribs, and his kidneys were damaged. The seriously injured Pálfi was taken to the prison hospital in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), where he was treated until his death at the end of February. His death certificate, along with the attached medical report, were filled out by the local Securitate. The documents named cancer as the cause of death, and also contained a falsified date of death.

Based on the full force (including photographers, etc.) with which the Securitate attended the funeral, it is safe to assume that there will be further arrests. Those likely to be affected by these measures ask that world public opinion "follow the upcoming events with close attention, and protest whenever possible the increasingly brutal manifestations of Rumanian fascism today."

APPENDIX D/2

The Case of Árpád Visky, Imprisoned Actor
From Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe)

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 5/1983 September 1, 1983

ÁRPÁD VISKY, a member of the Hungarian Theater in Sepsiszentgyörgy (Rumanian: Sfintul Gheorghe) was sentenced by a Bucharest military court to five years of penal servitude, according to reliable sources. In reaching its verdict, the military court found Mr. Visky guilty of "slandering Rumania, the Rumanian people and the socialist system," and of "disseminating hostile propaganda."

Prior to his arrest, Mr. Visky had on several occasions publicly criticized the arbitrary conduct of Rumanian state security personnel as well as the general terror prevailing in Rumania.

The initial intent of the Rumanian authorities was to institute a civil suit against Mr. Visky. It became apparent however, that the testimony of 6 witnesses, who had been summoned and intimidated by the authorities to appear against him, would be insufficient to sustain a finding of guilt. His case was then transferred to a military court which found him guilty on the basis of written statements by 21 "witnesses," most of them state security personnel. The procedures followed in Mr. Visky's case are not provided for under the rules of court procedure currently in effect in Rumania.

The sources also noted that, contrary to information disseminated by the Rumanian police, the actor Árpád Visky was not granted a pardon and his petition for amnesty was rejected through to the highest level.

Report on the Arrest and Imprisonment of Árpád Visky

Prepared by Two Dissident Sources in Hungary, January 11, 1984

[Supplemental information in brackets is taken from Hungarian Press of Transylvania Release No. 3/1984, dated January 20, 1984, which otherwise corroborates the details contained in this report.]

Árpád VISKY (male)
Imprisoned in Rumania

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

- Date/Place of Birth:
  1940, in the village of Székelyvécke (Vetca), Rumania.

- Address before arrest:
  Alea Sanatatii, bloc 15, scara B, apart. 11
  4000 Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe), RUMANIA

- Marital Status:
  Visky was divorced from his wife (Zita BUKSA, born 1950 in Glodeni, Rumania) before his arrest, but they were living together in the above apartment.

- Children:
  Two daughters, in the custody of Visky's former wife: Anna-Márta Visky (age 9) and Virág Visky (age 5).

- Education/Employment:
  After completing elementary school (eight years), Árpád Visky had to work, for financial reasons, as an unskilled laborer, but was able to take evening courses at the Lycee Unirea in the town of Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures). He graduated from the same high school in 1960.

  From 1960 Visky studied at the Drama Academy in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), graduating in 1964. Between 1962 and 1964 he was secretary of the Communist Youth Organization at the school, but he did not join the Communist Party.

After graduation, Visky was employed briefly at a community cultural center before becoming an actor with the Hungarian Theater of Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures). He later joined the Hungarian Theater of Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe). He was considered one of the best actors at both places.

[Árpád Visky is widely known not only in Transylvania, but in Hungary as well. Sándor Csoóri, one of Hungary's greatest poets, for example, dedicated a poem to Mr. Visky. See Várakozás a tavaszban (Waiting in the Springtime, Collected Poems by Sándor Csoóri), Budapest, 1983, p. 201. Mr. Visky was also known to openly identify with plight of the Hungarian minority in Rumania.]

- Citizenship/Nationality:
  Rumanian citizen, member of the Hungarian minority.

- Religion:
  Roman Catholic.

2. ARREST

On February 24, 1983 at 6:30 p.m., an unknown man rang the doorbell to Visky's apartment and ordered him to appear at the police station. The man did not identify himself, and he produced no summons or other paper. Visky did not object to this procedure (to do so would have been extraordinary under Rumanian circumstances), but he did ask the man to introduce himself to his ex-wife, so that she would know whom to turn to for information in the event her ex-husband failed to return home. The unknown Securitate (secret police) man complied with this request, but, as it later turned out, the name and address he had given were false.

There are no other arrests known to be related to Visky's case, but others [according to some sources, up to 150 individuals throughout Transylvania] were interrogated during the investigation.

Visky's family and friends could not specify the section of the Criminal Code under which he was arrested. They spoke only in general terms of nationalist agitation. [According to the Hungarian Press of Transylvania Release No. 3/1984, dated January 20, 1984, "the verdict against Visky recited charges of 'nationalism' and 'offending the state security organs.' "]

Some days before Visky's arrest, two unknown men (presumably Securitate agents) entered the cafeteria of the Hungarian Theater in Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe). It is important to note that this small place is reserved for the actors and staff of the theater. The two agents behaved quite provocatively which led, at the very least, to a sharp exchange of words between them and Visky. There are different versions of the story. Those who are less friendly to Visky assume that he was drunk and physically attacked the agents. Others, including some who were actually present during the incident, deny these allegations. It has been impossible to obtain a clear picture. What seems more important, however, is that all the informants, even the less friendly ones, are unable to provide any specific reason, other than the incident at the theater, for Visky's arrest and subsequent trial.

For the next three months, Visky's family was unable to obtain any information about his fate. Eventually, using the connections of two highly-placed Hungarian minority intellectuals, Visky's mother succeeded in meeting an official from the Ministry of the Interior. The official told her where her son was being held, but nothing about the charges against him. Some time later, Mrs. Visky was allowed to visit her son for a few minutes and question him about his physical condition, but only in Rumanian.

We are not authorized to use the names of the above-mentioned Hungarian minority intellectuals, but they are well-known public figures, moderate in their political views and cautious in their behavior. Consequently, the mere fact that they intervened on Visky's behalf, which is no small matter in present-day Rumania, can be taken as evidence for his case being the kind that deserves all possible assistance by Amnesty International and similar organizations. We felt it important to note this aspect of the case, to show that the reasons for Visky's trial are especially difficult to determine.

During the investigation, one actor and the director of the Hungarian Theater in Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe) were interrogated. Both of them, Levente NEMES [actor] and Lajos SZILVESZTER [theater director], gave courageous and positive testimony about Visky.

It should be mentioned that some years before his arrest, Visky wrote a petition to the authorities about the worsening political condition of the Hungarian minority. The occasion for this petition was the suicide of the minority poet Kálmán Szőcs (not related to Géza Szőcs). We have no further information about this incident.

It should also be noted that recently a recital, directed by Visky, of works by the Hungarian poet Attila József was canceled by the authorities, but this is not so exceptional an event in Rumania.

The above are all the possible reasons we know of for the harsh sentence of five years imprisonment.

3. DEFENSE

Visky had a lawyer assigned to his case by the court. This "official" lawyer was not even allowed to speak with the defendant before the trial. The lawyer was not permitted to read his client's file until ten minutes before the proceedings began, and he was not allowed to call any witnesses. He was, understandably, pessimistic about the outcome of the case and behaved in a despondent manner.

4. TRIAL

Visky was tried before a military court in Bucharest on August 7, 1983. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment. Although the lawyer considered it hopeless to appeal the verdict, at the insistence of the defendant's mother, he did appeal — and lost. A higher military court simply affirmed the sentence.

5. CONDITIONS OF IMPRISONMENT

As a political prisoner, Visky is subjected to an especially severe regimen. His food and cigarette rations are only half those of other prisoners, and the number of visits, parcels and communications he can receive is limited in contrast to that of ordinary prisoners.

We have no information concerning any ill-treatment, solitary confinement, or the like.

The prison conditions are, in general, terrible. This winter, even "free" citizens of Rumania have been unable to obtain adequate heat in their own homes, so the prisoners suffer especially badly from the cold.

Visky is in poor physical condition. A chronic kidney ailment causes him constant pain, and he needs medical treatment.

Visky's friends and relatives feel that it would be too dangerous to attempt to correspond with the prisoner.

The address of the prison is:

Penitenciarul Prahova
Soseaua Alexandria, no. 154
Bucuresti, ROMANIA

6. PREVIOUS ARRESTS

None.

Report completed on January 11, 1984.

[Signature] [Signature]

APPENDIX D/3

The Cases of Ernő Borbély, Katalin Bíró and László Buzás, Three Prominent Hungarians from Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), Arrested and Imprisoned

[Translation from Hungarian:]

Excerpt from the "Special Edition" of the Transylvanian Hungarian Samizdat Periodical Ellenpontok (Counterpoints), Dated January 13, 1983

. . . Beyond these three people [Attila Ara-Kovács, Géza Szőcs and Károly Tóth], many more individuals were subjected to harassment [during the first weeks of November 1982]. Most of these — persons with whom Szőcs had met frequently in the three weeks preceeding his first interrogation — had to endure house searches, and practically all were interrogated. Among others, the following were subjected to house searches:

[Listing of 15 names omitted.]

On November 23, after house searches in their apartments in Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), Ernő Borbély, secondary school teacher, and Katalin Bíró, architect, were taken away. No one has seen them since, and no news has emerged regarding their whereabouts. In the house searches, books from Hungary (primarily historical, ethnographical and cultural works), older Hungarian publications (such as books and periodicals published in Transylvania between the two World Wars), personal correspondence, typewriters, and groceries from Hungary were confiscated. The number of those interrogated was much higher, and in each case the authorities attempted to demostrate as many ties to Hungary as possible, as well as trying to extract compromising statements concerning the better known Hungarian cultural figures in Rumania.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 6/1983 September 2, 1983

In the Fall of 1982, inflammatory anti-Hungarian fliers written in Rumanian appeared in the Székely region [Southeastern portion of Transylvania, heavily populated by a subgroup of ethnic Hungarians, the Székelys]. During November, the police detained 3 persons of Rumanian nationality who admitted to having prepared the fliers. After making their statements, all three were allowed to go free. [The existence of the defamatory fliers, independently reported by other sources, was confirmed by two actual samples received by the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania and reproduced in this Appendix, at page A-7.]

Parallel to the investigation into the anti-Hungarian fliers case, on November 23rd the authorities took ERNŐ BORBÉLY, history teacher, and his fiancée KATALIN BÍRÓ, architect, into custody. The charges against them were that they had smuggled the texts of the anti-Hungarian fliers out of the country; that in several places — as, for example, at the editorial offices of the journal Igaz Szó [True Word] in Marosvásárhely [Rumanian: Tirgu Mures] — they had expressed indignation at the official reaction to the fliers as one bordering on solidarity with the authors of the fliers, with the authorities themselves nearly involved in the hostile provocations; and that the two had expressed their belief that the fliers had been prepared with the active participation of the Rumanian state security apparatus.

In March 1983, LÁSZLÓ BUZÁS, draftsman, who belonged to the Borbély-Bíró circle of friends, was taken into custody on similar charges. In June 1983, expedited procedures were employed to convict all three of them. Ernő Borbély and László Buzás were each sentenced to 6 years imprisonment, while Katalin Bíró also received a 6 year suspended sentence. She, on the other hand, has not been seen since; she has been replaced at her place of employment, and her food ration coupons are no longer being forwarded to her family. For these reasons, certain Hungarian sources in Transylvania are treating the news concerning the fate of Katalin Bíró with caution, saying that the information reported above was fabricated and disseminated by Rumanian state security in order to cover up a truth of far more serious proportions.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 18/1983 November 20, 1983

The editors received new information concerning the fate of ERNŐ BORBÉLY, LÁSZLÓ BUZAS and KATALIN BÍRÓ arrested in November 1982 in Csikszereda (Rumanian: Miercurea Ciuc). In making available this summary of facts, we hope to assist the efforts and protests occurring on their behalf:

Ernő Borbély

• Born:	1952
• Address (prior to arrest):	str. Tudor Vladimirescu nr. 17, et. IV, ap. 17 Miercurea Ciuc, RUMANIA
• Education:	
High School:	Graduated in 1971 from the "Imre Mikó" Lyceum in Sepsiszentgyörgy (Rumanian: Sfintul Gheorghe).
University:	Completed studies in 1978 at the History/Philosophy Faculty of the Babes-Bolyai University in Kolozsvár (Rumanian: Cluj).
• Employment (prior to arrest):	Teacher
• Employer:	Trade and Industry Lyceum No. 2, in Miercurea Ciuc.
(Prior employer:	Trade and Industry Lyceum, Szentegyházasfalú [Rumanian: Vlahita].)
• Nationality:	Hungarian
• Citizenship:	Rumanian
• Religion:	Roman Catholic
• Union:	Member of General Association of Trade Unions (the "official" and, of course, the only trade union currently functioning in Rumania).

- Circumstances of Arrest:

On November 23, 1982 at 6:30 a.m., detectives from the Securitate [Rumanian secret police] appeared at Borbély's home with a search warrant. The house-search lasted until 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon, at which time they took him into custody and carried him away. At his place of employment, his locker was also searched; the responses to inquiries by his colleagues were that: (1) "he made and sold pornographic pictures;" and (2) "he smuggled gold." Since that time, no one at his place of employment knows anything about him. His indirect supervisor, the County Chief Inspector of Schools, was told to look for a replacement for Borbély and that if any news concerning Borbély develops, the Inspector will be notified.

It is not known whether anything was found during the house search.

- Trial and Conviction:

Our sources were unable to describe the precise laws under which Borbély continues to be held, or pursuant to which he was convicted. The trial took place in Bucharest, closed to outsiders, in February-March of 1983.

- Sentence:

Seven (7) years, for treason, but this has never been officially confirmed.

- Imprisonment:

Borbély is held at the prison for political prisoners in Jilava (near Bucharest), in an underground cell. Letters and packages cannot be sent to him, or, in other words, it cannot be determined whether he actually receives them. Nevertheless, our sources believe that expressions of concern (in the form of letters sent to his former address, telegrams, etc.) could help in many respects to improve the situation of the prisoner, and that protest messages sent to the political leadership of Rumania could be of equal importance.

His mother visited him during the Fall of 1983. His parents, relatives and friends are under surveillance by the Securitate, and anyone who visits them is immediately taken away and questioned.

o Health:

Before his arrest, he had a bleeding stomach ulcer which was exacerbated during the time of this detention, making hospitalization necessary.

László Buzás

On November 22, 1982 László Buzás was summoned by the Securitate, interrogated for several days, then released. Thereafter, on several occasions, he was taken from his apartment and later released. In March 1983, at his place of employment, he was ordered by telephone to appear at Securitate headquarters and he has since failed to return home. He was a good friend of Ernő Borbély. His older brother, Balázs Buzás, was fired from his job as mayor of Csikszereda (Rumanian: Miercurea Ciuc) because of his younger brother. At the meeting where his dismissal was announced, the County First Party Secretary said, "His brother fantasized about things which will never become reality."

László Buzás was sentenced to six (6) years for treason. He is reportedly being held together with Ernő Borbély. He was severely tortured during the interrogation; his nails were ripped out.

Buzás is married, the father of two children. His studies were in economics, and he was employed by the Tractor Factory of Csikszereda.

Katalin Bíró

Katalin Bíró, the fiancee of Ernő Borbély, was arrested in November 1982. She was held in custody only during the period of her investigation, and she was not convicted.[*] Her profession: building engineer. She was employed by the county Building and Maintenance Trust as a white-collar official. She is presently employed at the same place, as a blue-collar worker.

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[*] [The apparent contradiction between this report and the news of Katalin Bíró's suspended sentence, as reported in the preceding Hungarian Press of Transylvania Release No. 6/1984, remains unresolved. The fact remains that she disappeared for a period in excess of six months from the time of her arrest in November 1982. According to an oral report received from another source, on July 28, 1983, Katalin Bíró was conditionally released with strict orders forbidding her to disclose the facts surrounding her case to anyone. Katalin Bíró is in her 20's.]

APPENDIX D/4

The Case of Béla Páll, Imprisoned Mathematics Teacher From Ditró (Ditrau)

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 11/1984 March 30, 1984

BÉLA PÁLL, a mathematics teacher at the high school in Ditró (Ditrau), has been arrested and convicted.

Beginning in the 1950's, Páll had already been active in writing protest letters critical of the restrictions placed on Hungarian-language educational opportunities in Rumania. He had protested the the elimination in 1959 of Bolyai University in Kolozsvár (Cluj), and the elimination of Hungarian-language instruction in technical schools.

Over the years, Páll was frequently harassed, and on a few occasions he was committed to psychiatric institutions. Eventually he was forced to retire.

In the beginning of 1983, he traveled abroad. Upon his return, he was arrested. The probable date of his arrest was April 30, 1983. He was picked up during the night and taken away in his pajamas, without a word of explanation to his family.

Recently, it become known through semi-official sources, that he is being held in Bucharest, presumably in the psychiatric ward of the political prison. He was convicted after a formal trial, his lawyer having been officially assigned. For the moment there are no details regarding the terms of his sentence.

APPENDIX D/5

Five Disappearances in Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc)

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 13/1984 April 2, 1984

According to as yet unconfirmed reports, five persons of Hungarian nationality have disappeared in Csikszereda (Miercurea-Ciuc). Tensions are high in this mostly Hungarian inhabited city located in the Székely region. It is widely believed that the Rumanian state security forces are responsible for the disappearances.

APPENDIX D/6

House Searches in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures)

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 10/1983 November 4, 1983

On October 25 and 26 of this year, the Rumanian state security organs held several house searches in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures). All that can be known for certain is that they were trying to find incriminating documents in the possession of some of the editors, especially Zsolt Gálfalvy, of the Hungarian language literary periodical Igaz Szó (True Word). At the interrogations following the house searches, those taken into custody were questioned about MIKLÓS DURAY'S book Kutyaszorító (Choke Collar) published in New York, and about the editors of the Hungarian Press of Transylvania. According to our sources, the state security organs found no incriminating evidence, and released everyone after interrogation.

APPENDIX D/7

Dismissal of Rev. István Tőkes, Senior Official of the Hungarian Reformed Church, from All Positions of Leadership; Intimidation and Banishment of His Son, Rev. László Tőkes

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 25/1983 December 1, 1983

In November, usurping the autonomy and decision-making right of universities in such matters, the Rumanian authorities dismissed ISTVÁN TŐKES, professor at the Protestant Theological Seminary, from his position. Professor Tőkes has been awarded honorary doctorates by several world-reknowned universities, and his name is well known throughout Europe for the studies and articles he has published.

According to our sources, the Professor was only three years away from retirement, making the reprisal against him — unprecedented in form — all the more unusual and suspect. There can be no doubt, the sources point out, that Tőkes' dismissal by the authorities was motivated by political considerations.

The friends of István Tőkes, his former students and a group of Transylvanian Hungarian Protestant faithful, call upon the public to protest this latest attack against Transylvanian Hungarian intellectual life.

Excerpt from a Letter, Dated January 9, 1984, Reporting on the Cases of István and László Tőkés, Written by a Former Inhabitant of Transylvania, Now Living in Budapest

Rev. László Tőkés is one of the finest Reformed ministers in Transylvania. The Rumanian authorities are trying to force the church to remove Tőkés from Dés (Dej), where he enjoys the trust of his congregation, and by way of punishment to relocate him to a remote village. There, during some dark night when there is no electricity, he could be delivered a fatal blow, as so often happens these days to Transylvanian Hungarian intellectuals.

It is worth mentioning that as a result of similar moves against him, László Tőkés' predecessor, the 53 year-old Reformed minister Péter András, took his own life in a dreadful manner after serving only nine months in Dés. Aside from this case, suicides among Reformed ministers in Transylvania are generally on the rise, which may serve to illustrate the seriousness of Rev. Tőkés' situation.

Report from Rumania, dated April, 1984: "New Developments in the Tőkés Case"

Hungarian news organs in the West have already reported on the plight of László Tőkés, the assistant minister at Dés (Dej) in Transylvania. It is known that the attack against Tőkés was executed, using the Church as the instrument, on the bogus grounds that he had damaged the so-called good relations between the Rumanian state and the Reformed Church. On instructions from the Rumanian political police (the Securitate), the 74 year-old Reformed Bishop Gyula Nagy instituted an ecclesiastical disciplinary proceeding against Tőkés. The details of the campaign against Tőkés were discussed at a secret meeting held in Dés by Gyula Nagy, and attended by József Láposi, the current dean, Ferenc Bányai, the retired dean (who, because of a temporary moral lapse, was compromised into serving the political police), and Inspector Hoinarescu, head of the Kolozs (Cluj) County office of ecclesiastical affairs.

Gyula Nagy is the kind of Reformed Church leader who serves the Rumanian political police in every way. In Brassó (Brasov), for example, the Reformed Church building was torn down, supposedly for reasons of urban renewal, and a fountain was erected in its place. The real purpose was to remove one more reminder of Hungarian ecclesiastical presence in the region. Bishop Gyula Nagy's only observation, delivered before a stunned congregation at the last service held in the church, was that "a true Protestant can pray even under a walnut tree." This is how Nagy serves the Transylvanian Reformed Church and represents its interests.

One of the events leading to the Tőkés case is an incident involving the other Reformed Church Bishop, László Papp of Nagyvárad (Oradea). At a meeting of Reformed ministers, Papp accused Gyula Illyés [universally recognized as Hungary's greatest poet and intellectual, who died in 1983] of irredentism because of the poet's outcry against the mistreatment of Hungarians in Transylvania. Tőkés wrote a letter to Papp, asking that in future he speak in his own name. László Papp turned the letter over to the Securitate. It came as no surprise then, that the diligent work of the pastor, which had already produced increases in the number of churchgoers and youth seeking religious instruction, elicited the wrath of the Rumanian authorities.

The prior report we issued contained the news that a five member disciplinary committee had been created at the initiative of Gyula Nagy for the purpose of punishing Tőkés. The first hearing had been postponed, because the outcome appeared uncertain: of the five members, only two — the committee's president, Gyula Páll, a 58 year old minister from Désakna (Tőkés's enemy, for personal reasons), and Ferenc Tarr, minister at Déscichegy — seemed willing to decide in accordance with the authorities' wishes. Since that time, the authorities began the process of "softening up" the other members of the committee. Blackmail, bribery, intimidation and the offer of "rewards" were alternatively employed to make them come around. Some members were pressured through threats of a job transfer. Others were told that they would be suspended or dismissed outright from their jobs, or that their children would encounter great difficulties in their further education, or that, in the reverse, they would receive certain benefits if they complied. Finally, the authorities succeeded in winning over Béla Olteány, church elder at Désakna, and the adjourned meeting was held with a 3-2 outcome in favor of removing Tőkés from Dés. In spite of the tremendous pressure exerted, the proposal was not supported by the Reformed minister of Bonchida (Bontida), and by the churchwarden of Magyarnemegye, Bálint Görgényi.

The main organizer of the campaign against Tőkés was József Ungvári, lieutenant-colonel of the Securitate, who has worked at undermining the Hungarian churches and intelligentsia in Dés for over a quarter of a century. In the sixties it was Ungvári who had carried out the measures directed against the Franciscan friars interned at Dés. It was primarily he who prepared the cases against them, as a consequence of which so many of them died in prison, or spent many years there. Father János Eőrssy, then head of the order, died under highly questionable circumstances in an auto accident near Segesvár (Sighisoara) following his release. In official circles, Ungvári is considered an "expert" not only in ecclesiastical matters, but also in blackmail, and he knows Dés inside out. In the fall of 1983, it was he who performed the house search in Tőkés's apartment.

Following the decision of the five-member committee, Tőkés submitted an appeal, and a delegation of 20 church members visited the Kolozsvár offices of Gyula Nagy to deliver a protest memorandum signed by 1,680 others, demanding an end to the harassment of Tőkés. The Bishop tried to reject the petition, saying that the matter was now in the hands of ecclesiastical appeals committee of Kolozs County. A simple majority of this seven-member committee is sufficient to affirm the previous decision. Knowing the techniques employed in such cases — intimidation, blackmail, bribery — there can be little doubt that sooner or later four committee members can be convinced to ignore any sense of personal responsibility or pangs of conscience, and to vote the decision urged by the authorities.

At the beginning of March, the several hundred year-old Gothic church of Dés filled to overflowing for its annual general assembly. One after another, the faithful raised their voices on behalf of Tőkés, and the church dean, József Láposi was unable to provide satisfactory answers to the many questions raised. Subversive elements tried to disrupt the orderly unified front presented by the congregation, and the meeting almost ended in upheaval.

In the meantime, the political police have changed tactics. They are now trying to convince the people one by one that it is dangerous to side with Tőkés, because he supposedly committed serious political crimes, which could have negative consequences vis a vis his supporters as well. Some of the faithful have been visited at their homes by the political police, others have been subjected to house searches. In the schools, agitation against religion and the Church has been stepped up, with new impediments imposed on religious instruction, and all efforts have been made to isolate Tőkés until a final decision is reached.

April, 1984

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 27/1984 June 5, 1984

On May 24, 1984, the General Assembly of the Reformed church, district of Kolozsvár (Cluj), dismissed Dr. ISTVÁN TŐKÉS, internationally respected professor of theology, from his post as Assistant Bishop. At the same meeting, he was also excused from his position as editor-in-chief of Református Szemle (Reformed Review).

Professor Tőkés has long been the subject of persecution by the Rumanian state security organs. (In this regard, see the news contained in our Release No. 25/1983, dated December 1, 1983.) In May, his son, László Tőkés, was suspended from his position as minister in Dés (Dej), and eventually banished to a remote little village called Mezőszentpéter, where he must live in isolation not only from his family, but also from his followers whom even threats by the Securitate have been unable to daunt in their adherence to him.

APPENDIX D/8

Continued Harassment of Géza Szőcs, Loránt Kertész and others Associated with the Disbanded Transylvanian-Hungarian Samizdat Periodical Ellenpontok (Counterpoints)

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 1/1984 January 8, 1984

On December 31, 1983, GÉZA SZŐCS traveled to Nagyvárad (Oradea) to visit friends living there. At the railroad station he was greeted by a four-member detail of the local political police under the command of ION SALAJAN, who heads the interrogation section.

SZŐCS and LORÁND KERTÉSZ, who had been waiting for him, were taken into custody and detained for three hours. SZŐCS was then informed that he is "banished forever from the territory of Nagyvárad," and he was placed on a train to Kolozsvár (Cluj).

It should be mentioned that LORÁND KERTÉSZ is a Canadian citizen living in Nagyvárad (str. Mihai Viteazul nr. 13. tel.: 36 2 93). On one occasion at the end of November, the political police kidnapped him together with his wife as they were on their way to the commercial section of the Canadian legation in Bucharest to take care of some business. They were released only after it became apparent that some of the employees at the Canadian consulate had witnessed their being shoved into an automobile.

LORÁND KERTÉSZ's mother, IBOLYA SZABÓ, died of a heart attack in October, 1983, after the political police (Securitate) had subjected her to unheard-of brutality and psychological terror during a series of interrogations.

LORÁND KERTÉSZ's younger brother ATTILA KERTÉSZ, who presently lives in Budapest, was taken into custody at his mother's funeral. During several hours of interrogation, the police endeavored to extract from him information relating to conditions in Hungary. They were especially interested in where ATTILA ARA-KOVÁCS — one of the editors of Ellenpontok (Counterpoints), expelled from Rumania in May 1983 — lives, whom he maintains contact with, whether he intends to attend the funeral, and if so, where he intends to cross the border.

According to eyewitnesses, the political police filmed the entire funeral, then interrogated most of those who had attended, and took from them the documents with which they had previously been able to travel to Hungary, within the framework of the unrestricted travel zone [a zone within a certain number of kilometers on either side of the border].

APPENDIX D/9

Persecution of Rev. Ferenc Wisky and Sándor Dienes, Members of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania

NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY

THE BULLETIN

REPORT ON DEVELOPMENTS RELATIVE TO THE HUMANITARIAN PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

---

1 October to 31 December 1983

1 December

Two members of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania have been under severe pressure, according to reports received by Keston College. Reverend Ferenc Wisky, a former pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church, was forcibly retired by his bishop in April and forced to leave his home and church. He was popular among the young people but had refused to cooperate with the authorities and would not complete the form giving information about his work (a regular requirement). 300 books belonging to Reverend Wisky and a friend were confiscated in May and he is regularly being interrogated. He has served many years in prison and his family and friends feared he would be arrested again. The second person undergoing persecution is Sandor Dienes, who is 28 years old and was sentenced on 7 February 1983 to 2 years' imprisonment. The charges were unknown. Amnesty International has received reports alleging Mr. Dienes was arrested for his involvement with "Ellenpontok", a Hungarian language journal which criticises the destructive policies practised against the Hungarian minority. This is Mr. Dienes' second arrest, the first being for religious activities. (KNS)

APPENDIX D/10

Unexplained Death of Géza Láposi, Schoolteacher and Hungarian Cultural Leader from Magyardécse

Exerpts from a Letter, Dated January 9, 1984
Written in Budapest by a Former Resident of Transylvania

It is clear that the situation of Hungarians in Rumania is growing worse. Only those whose cases are known in the West can be assured some degree of protection. Thus, Károly Király and András Sütő are free, but under constant surveillance. Although the Kolozsvár (Cluj) poet Géza Szőcs was released — thanks to pressure from the West — everyone he had visited in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) was subjected to nighttime house searches.

It may be of interest if I reported a specific case. Magyardécse, a village in Beszterce-Naszód (Bistrita-Nasaud) County, is inhabited exclusively by Hungarians. The village has something atypical: an active cultural life, including a theater troupe, an orchestra, a dance ensemble, etc. About three years ago, one of these groups won an award at the annual "Hymn to Rumania" cultural festival. On this occasion, the Hungarian-language section of Rumanian National Television filmed a story about the village. Géza Láposi, a schoolteacher and director of the village cultural center, was interviewed about his cultural activites. This was in the fall. A few weeks later, after the first snowfall, Géza Láposi disappeared. Various explanations made the rounds in the village. According to some people, he had drowned in the Szamos (Somesul) River, others claimed to have last seen him climbing into a jeep. The drought during the past summer [1983] caused many of the rivers and lakes to dry out in that area. Some 8-10 kilometers from the village, between the villages of Retteg (Reteag) and Árpástó, there is a marshy area which also dried up. While playing soccer there, some children noticed something shining in the ground. They began picking at it, and a set of teeth emerged. It turned out that Géza Láposi's corpse had ended up in the swamp, and it was his gold tooth that was shining. He was buried on October 10, 1983 by his wife, also a schoolteacher, and his daughter. Géza Láposi would be 53 years old today.

Occurrences such as this one are unfortunately all too frequent. Only the methods vary. There are those who die of carbon monoxide poisoning, and others who are run over by cars. Those for whom such techniques cannot be utilized, can always be sent to prison. This is how the actor Árpád Visky, three teachers from Csikszereda, and not long ago Béla Páll, teacher from Ditró in Hargita County ended up in jail. The latter was on a legal visit in Hungary when Gyula Illyés [the most revered Hungarian writer and intellectual] died. Páll attended the funeral. Upon returning home, he disappeared. For months no one could find out what had happened to him. Finally, in November, a court in Bucharest sentenced him to six years imprisonment, based on trumped-up political charges.

APPENDIX E

New Official Measures are Instituted To Curtail or Eliminate the Minorities' Opportunities for Cultural Expression

APPENDIX E/1

Editors of Leading Hungarian-Language Periodicals Fired from Their Jobs

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 11/1983 November 5, 1983

The top editors of A Hét (The Week), the Hungarian language cultural weekly published in Bucharest, have been fired from their jobs.

This measure on the part of the authorities did not come as a complete surprise. It is widely known among the Hungarians of Rumania that this was the one publication which had not only been the most consistent in its defense of minority interests, but from time to time even found the means to give expression, albeit veiled, to the population's mood of increasing desperation and defiance in the face of terror.

The authorities justified the dismissal of the editors as a disciplinary measure. The reason cited was that in this year's 43rd issue of the paper, a reproduction of the artist CELLA GRIGORAS NEAMTU's tapestry paying tribute to the union of Transylvania with historic Rumania was printed backwards. That the authorities' true purpose was revenge is supported by the fact that they resorted to such a fifth-rate excuse to justify the dismissals. Indeed, supposedly -- and in Transylvanian Hungarian circles there is no doubt of this -- the reproduction was reversed on special instructions from the Party itself, without the knowledge of the editors, after the paper had already been typeset and was out of their hands.

According to informed reports, the dismissed editor-in-chief, SÁNDOR HUSZÁR (a reknowned writer of prose, several of whose novels and short stories have been published) was reassigned to work at the Council of Socialist Culture and Education. ANDOR HORVÁTH, assistant editor-in-chief, was assigned a job at the radio. The newly appointed editor-in-chief is EDIT LÁZÁR.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 20/1983 November 21, 1983

We have already reported that the authorities are systematically dismissing those journalists who in their estimation are not willing to serve the Party leadership fully and without reservation. The manner in which these measures are being carried out reveals that the Rumanian Communist Party has at its disposal only one "perfectly reliable" organ with a loyal editorial staff, and that is Előre (Forward), the Hungarian-language version of the official Party daily, published in Bucharest. The positions being vacated by the dismissed journalists are being filled, one after the other, from the ranks of this newspaper. Accordingly, the head of the Hungarian-language section of Rumanian National Television has been replaced by JÁNOS GYARMATHY, formerly a sports (!) reporter with Előre. EDITH LÁZÁR was appointed editor-in-chief of the cultural weekly, A Hét (The Week), who, according to objective and well informed sources is "the shadiest little journalist of Előre."

Those who have remained from the old staff of *A Hét*, according to reports, are allowed into its editorial offices, located in the Scinteia House, only once a week, and then only to submit manuscripts for approval by the newly appointed supervising editors. One of the members of the editorial staff made the despondent remark to our reporter that *A Hét* "has become a weekly version of *Előre*, which unequivocally characterizes the cultural and especially the moral decline of the paper."

In addition, whereas until now *A Hét* has had a circulation of over 10,000, from now on only 2,800 copies will be sent to subscribers, and 3,000 will be sold at newsstands. Following the 1971 cultural turning point, the Rumanian authorities, citing economic considerations, limited in more or less equal measure the Rumanian, Hungarian and German papers, and only after public opinion had "reconciled itself" to the idea of these curtailments was the circulation of the *Rumanian* papers restored to its previous size. These days however, it appears that the regime considers the time ripe for *openly* cutting down the size of the output of the Hungarian language press, thus violating one of the fundamental rights of the nationalities. There has been no example of this kind of behavior since Antonescu's fascist laws.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 25/1984 March 29, 1984

In addition to, but also as a consequence of the economic and political deterioration which afflicts the life of every inhabitant of Rumania, the oppression of the Hungarians, whose numbers include a considerable proportion of intellectuals, is growing more and more severe. Newer and newer limitations are being placed on the Hungarians' cultural institutions, which are already too few and in practice incapable of independent action. The sense of malaise among Hungarian intellectuals can be measured by the simple fact that voluntary resignations from leading positions are increasing, generally under the guise of retirement for reasons of health.

János Kovács, literary historian and editor-in-chief of the monthly Művelődés (Culture), which is edited in Bucharest and is supposed to deal with popularizing Hungarian culture, requested his own retirement four years ago. To this day, no one has been appointed to take his place; the periodical simply lists no one as editor-in-chief, nor does it list an editorial board.

Zoltán Bartha, editor of the children's magazine, Jóbarát (Good Friend), also edited in Bucharest, was reassigned a job in a remote region. Since that time, the magazine has been edited by the editor of of its Rumanian counterpart.

Sándor Huszár, editor of A Hét (The Week) — also published in Bucharest — as well as his assistant, Andor Horváth, were summarily fired from their jobs, and replaced, without their having requested retirement. As a result, the staff of the periodical also underwent changes, and the quality of the magazine fell dratically.

Pál Bodor, director of the Hungarian and German broadcast sections of the Rumanian radio and TV, voluntarily retired five years ago. Since then, these two nationality broadcast services have functioned under a temporary director, and the duration of the Hungarian broadcast dropped from 180 minutes (three hours) a week to 55 minutes a week.

According to some reports, retirement also lies in store for ethno-sociologist Ernő Gáll, who is editor-in-chief of the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) periodical Korunk (Our Age). It is not at all certain that the new person chosen to edit this venerable Hungarian periodical will be a worthy successor.

A few months ago, an investigation was launched against the Bucharest-based Kriterion Publishing House, an internationally recognized institution of the Hungarian nationality in Rumania. The work of this publishing house, which is dedicated to fostering the written culture of all nationalities in Rumania and which publishes books in eight languages, is being analyzed by a special brigade created by the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party for this purpose. Even though a significant part of Kriterion's activity is the publication of Hungarian books, the brigade does not contain a single Hungarian writer, literary critic, linguist, historian, folklore or other specialist among its members. The head of the brigade is a Rumanian Party functionary named Dulea, who does not know the Hungarian language even on a conversational level. Most of the members are Party or state functionaries: Iulia Radulescu, (censor), Augustin Deac, (a notoriously nationalistic Rumanian party historian), Francisc Podoaba, József Illés, Dénes Csiki (Party functionaries), and Béla Szász and Sándor Pezderka (Ministry of Culture officials whose primary duties are in the area of censorship).

According to reports, the chief target of the attack is the founding director of Kriterion, Géza Domokos. Mr. Domokos has on several occasions been sent by Ceausescu on propoganda tours of the United States, England, other West European countries and even to China, in order to demonstrate — by citing his own activities and the very existence of Kriterion as proof — that the Rumanian Communist Party does not mistreat national minorities. It appears however, that Géza Domokos, who is also vice president of the Rumanian Writers' Union, provided too good a demonstration, not only abroad, but at home as well. He took seriously the principle that Kriterion is an exponent of the equal rights of Rumania's nationalities — a vital element in their cultural life and very existence — and he endeavored to turn that principle into reality. According to reports, he is being charged with trying to broaden beyond the tolerated limit the volume of Kriterion's publications as well as the range of topics they deal with.

How little truth there is to this accusation is demonstrated by official Rumanian statistics: Minority language book publishing in Rumania has declined to one third of what it was thirty-five years ago, and the Rumanian specialty-trade publishers have for all practical purposes ceased the publication of Hungarian-language books altogether. The Academy, the Music and the fine arts oriented Meridiane publishers no longer publish anything in the Hungarian language. According to a survey which appeared in the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) weekly Útunk (Our Way) on the state of Hungarian book publishing between 1970 and 1980, the annual volume of Hungarian-language publishing by the Scientific and Encyclopaedic Press, the Ceres (agricultural), the Albatros (youth), the Sport and Tourism, the Technical and the Eminescu (literature) publishers is miniscule. Of these, Albatros (publisher of books for youth) is in first place with an annual total of five Hungarian books, of which only one is on the average an original work, the others being translations into Hungarian. Thus, Kriterion — aware of these facts and working within an already modest and limited framework — tried to expand the scope of its Hungarian language book publishing activity in an attempt to salvage whatever it could, but knowing full well that it could not hope to deal with the full range of topics. Since Kriterion is allowed to publish only about 100 titles a year in the Hungarian language, the effort to broaden its profile could only have served a symbolic function in any event. In contrast to the demand, and to the cultural aspirations of the Hungarians of Rumania, Kriterion was able to contribute only a few volumes dealing with the history, cultural history, philology, folklore, fine arts and music of the Hungarians of Rumania.

The bleakness of this picture is further demonstrated by the fact that with an annual book publishing total of 50 million copies for a population of 22 million (or equal to roughly two books per person per year), Rumania ranks in last place in Europe in terms of publishing statistics. The books-per-person ratio for Hungarian-language books published in Rumania is even worse: in general, it stands at one book per Hungarian inhabitant per year. As regards the type and variety of works available, the situation is even more desperate. While, for example, a Hungarian in Hungary may choose from among seven to eight thousand books — all he needs is the desire and the money — a Hungarian living in Rumania can choose from only among 200. This is the number of books published annually for the two million Hungarians in Rumania, and this number includes all of the works translated from Rumanian, such as political publications, brochures, speeches delivered before various congresses, propaganda materials, the complete works of Ceausescu and so forth, as well as works translated from other languages into Hungarian such as, technical handbooks, specialized texts, etc. The situation has been further compounded by a radical decline in the number, already far too small to meet the demand, of publications imported from Hungary. This number is governed by a trade agreement whose currency framework has not kept pace with the marked increase world-wide in book prices.

The investigation launched against the minority nationalities' Bucharest publishing house Kriterion the Party's effort to "determine accountability" — therefore threatens the existence of even that miniscule volume and narrow range of publications still available to Rumania's national minorities, including the largest group, the Hungarians.

In the past few months, the press in Hungary has given a noticeably large amount of attention to Kriterion Press. The reason is not clear: Have they found it necessary to acknowledge and express appreciation for Kriterion's efforts — working within the limited range of its possibilities — to disseminate the minority nationalities cultures? Or have they perhaps gotten wind of the fact that the publishing house is in some sort of danger? In the April 26 issue of Magyar Hírlap, Miklós Zelei wrote an article about Kriterion Press and Géza Domokos; the May 20 issue of Népszabadság printed a lengthy article of similar nature; the May 25 issue of Élet és Irodalom published an interview with the Rumanian Minister of Culture, Ion Traian Stefanescu, revealing — again in a conspicuous fashion — that he was questioned about Kriterion Press.

APPENDIX E/3

New Threats of Job Dismissal Aimed Against Rumania's Minority Intellectual Community

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 12/1983 November 5, 1983

There is increasing restlessness in the cultural and educational circles of the Hungarians in Rumania over reports that the Party has ordered the compilation of a "dual list" of Hungarian intellectuals, based on ideological reliability and loyalty toward the Rumanian people.

According to reports, being placed on the "list of unreliables" will not for the moment mean restriction of personal liberty beyond the usual, it will merely result in the loss of one's job. (Everyone brings up the dismissal of the editors of *A Hét* (The Week) as foreshadowing the impending fate of the other Hungarian newspapers and periodicals.)

The "list of reliables" will reportedly contains the names of those who could at any time fill the vacated positions. In well-informed circles it is believed that two people will be kept on record for every important job: the one who presently holds the position, and the one who could at any time be appointed to fill it.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 16/1983 November 15, 1983

At the Mangalia resort at the end of last summer, Nicolae Ceausescu gave a speech dealing with cultural questions. The speech raised the prospect of reprisals for certain shortcomings, especially with regard to the revolutionary resolve of persons employed in the areas of film and the dramatic arts, and with regard to the national-political qualifications of those employed as performing artists. The speech has provoked increased anxiety among those involved in the country's cultural life. The concern even spread to the "guardians of ideology" after several passages of Ceausescu's speech were abundantly reported in the world press (naturally not without some degree of derision).

We have learned that following these events, certain Rumanian, Hungarian and German writers attempted to organize a joint protest. At the suggestion of the writer NICOLAE MANOLESCU, forty well-known personalities in Rumania sent a letter to DUMITRU RADU POPESCU, President of the Writers' Union. In the letter, they requested that the union be allowed to debate the speech at its next scheduled meeting. According to our reports, Popescu had not yet even received the letter when several of the signers were already fired from their jobs. In the month which has passed since then, all forty signers have been punished through Party sanctions, publishing prohibitions and heavy fines.

According to our latest information, further reprisals can be expected.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 22/1983 November 22, 1983

The management staff of the Tractor Factory in Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc) was reorganized during September. According to as yet unconfirmed reports, every Hungarian in a leading position was either dismissed or demoted.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 27/1983 December 15, 1983

According to reports confirmed by several sources, in the first months of 1984 the number of persons employed as intellectuals will be cut throughout all of Rumania by 40%. The cuts will be felt most heavily by those engaged in various branches of artistic endeavor and by the institutions where they are employed.

It should be mentioned that the present leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party makes absolutely no secret of the fact that it considers the intelligentsia a "non-productive stratum," and the moderation with which it is tolerated a waste of social potential.

News of this decision was greeted with anxiety among the national minorities, who expect that Hungarian and German minority intellectuals will be the first to lose their jobs. According to one assessment by dissident sources, about 500 individuals in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) alone are likely to end up in the street from one day to the next.

APPENDIX E/4

Prohibition of Ceremonies and Publications Marking the Centennial of the Birth of Károly Kós, a Leading Twentieth Century Cultural and Spiritual Figure of Transylvanian Hungarians

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 21/1983 November 22, 1983

One by one, the events planned to celebrate the centennial of the birth of KÁROLY KÓS are being prohibited by the authorities.

Among the casualties are the Kós commemoration scheduled as a part of the "Kolozsvár Evenings " performance series, and the lecture scheduled at the Peoples' University in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca).

The Kolozsvár magazine Dolgozó Nö (Working Woman) had already gone to print, when its material on Kós was excised by the censors. The internationally recognized periodical Korunk (Our Age) on the other hand, was ordered to suspend work on its Kós material indefinitely.

As said by a propaganda activist at a recent confidential gathering in Bucharest, the reason for these measures is Károly Kós's allegedly "right wing leanings." The same source revealed that a translation into Rumanian of Károly Kós's work entitled 1940 is now being prepared for the Party leadership and the state security agency (Securitate). The translation will supposedly "assist the Party leadership in re-evaluating the official methods used in dealing with the Hungarians of Transylvania." Translations of speeches made by IMRE MIKÓ before parliament between 1940 and 1944 will be used for the same purpose.

Letter from István Csurka, a Leading Writer in Hungary, Regarding the Campaign against Károly Kós, Fall 1983

The latest development in the program of cultural genocide being waged against Hungarians in Rumania is the insidious campaign initiated against the memory of Károly Kós. Just as newspapers in Transylvania were preparing to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of Kós's birth, suddenly a peculiar rumor started spreading: "Something's wrong with Kós . . . They found something new . . . " Reference was made to a few sentences in an article he had written in 1911, and to an allegation by "informed sources" that he was really an agent of [Miklós] Horthy [Regent of Hungary when that country was an ally of Nazi Germany].

Then, a delegation from Hungary which wanted to place a wreath on Kós's grave, was refused permission to enter Rumania. The official excuse given by the authorities was that the Kós anniversary is not recognized in the UNESCO calendar.

Next, articles about Kós had to be taken out of the newspapers.

Then, even the man's name was banned from appearing in print.

Finally, they are now forcing the editors of The Encyclopedia of Hungarian Literature in Rumania to excise all references to Kós from the second volume, which has been edited and ready to go to press for several years. This measure, when viewed in light of Kós's tremendous influence on Transylvanian culture (Hungarian and non-Hungarian alike), is tantamount to destroying the encyclopedia as a meaningful work. This result is, in fact, the immediate purpose of the maneuver.

The deeper, more comprehensive and, at the same time, more malicious goal is to cut the jugular vein and paralyze the whole of Hungarian literature and culture in Rumania. For if Kós can be taken out of circulation on grounds of being a nationalist and an accomplice of Horthy, then the rug is effectively pulled out from under Hungarian culture in Rumania. If Kós can be labeled a fascist — another accusation already made against him — then there is no longer a point of reference, and no Hungarian writer can feel safe. With his entire life, with his every action and with every line he wrote, Kós served the purest, most enlightened and noblest ideals of equality, fraternity and harmony among the peoples living side by side in Transylvania. He did this as a Hungarian. If it is forbidden to print Kós's name in Rumania, then it is forbidden to be Hungarian.

The campaign is seemingly mindless, and absurd; in reality, however, it is well calculated, with a clear purpose in mind.

APPENDIX E/5

Prohibition of Ceremonies and Publications Commemorating the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Sándor Kőrösi Csoma, the Transylvanian-Hungarian Scholar, Traveler and Author of the First Tibetan-English Dictionary

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 12/1984 April 2, 1984

An early March issue of the Bucharest paper, MAGAZINUL, asked its readers the following question as part of a question-and-answer game: Do they know the identity of the great Nineteenth Century Rumanian scholar "who was first to travel from these parts to Tibet, there wrote the first Tibetan-English dictionary and edited the first Tibetan grammar book?" The answer appeared in the next issue of the paper: "This great Rumanian scholar was ALEXANDRU SAMA."

It is clear to anyone familiar with Hungarian culture that the Bucharest paper had simply rechristened SÁNDOR KŐRÖSI CSOMA, ranking him among the great figures of Rumanian culture.

Just as an interesting sidelight we note that SÁNDOR KŐRÖSI CSOMA was born exactly 200 years ago. The Rumanian authorities have prohibited any celebration or publication commemorating this bicentennial, just as they did in connection with last year's Károly Kós centennial.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 20/1984 April 18, 1984

In the middle of April, in the village of Csomakőrös (Chiurus) located in Kovászna (Covasna) County, the political police (Securitate) took several people from their homes and physically abused them. The significance of this event is underscored by the fact that it occurred in the village where Sándor Kőrösi Csoma was born, at a time when in other parts of the world, ceremonies are taking place to commemorate in a respectful fashion the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of this great scholar of Eastern culture.

Those taken into custody reported that the Rumanian political police had beaten them in order to intimidate them and at the same time remind them not to have any contact with any foreigner visiting Csomakőrös on the occasion of the anniversary. The same sources reported that during the period in question, agents provocateurs had appeared in the village posing as tourists.

According to reports by eyewitnesses, on April 12 and the days which followed, Csomakőrös gave the impression of being an uninhabited place, the locals not daring to step out of their houses. One of the local inhabitants told our reporter that he did not even dare attend church services.

APPENDIX E/6

Rumanian Efforts to Further Limit Contacts Between Transylvanian Hungarians and Their Ethnic Kin From Hungary

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 9/1983 October 1, 1983

For the past two years, IFJUMUNKÁS (Young Worker), the Hungarian-language Bucharest periodical of the Rumanian Communist Youth Organization has organized bicycle trips, called Mikes Tours, to visit various localities and points of interest in the Székely region. The purpose of these tours, aside from promoting greater knowledge about the region, was to organize local cultural programs which would serve to rally the young people who subscribed to IFJUMUNKÁS or wrote articles for it.

This year the tour set out from Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc), but had only reached Erdőszentgyörgy (Singeorgiul-de-Padure) when it was halted by the state security authorities, who checked identity papers and dispersed the participants. According to the security organs, the presence in the group of four citizens of Hungary was considered an aggravating circumstance, as well as one which could give rise to "chauvinist agitation." The tour organizers were fined and severely disciplined by the Party, which also accused them of "religious nationalism" inasmuch as they had proposed visiting historic Hungarian monuments and churches among other places.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 13/1983 November 7, 1983

Our editorial staff has learned that on Saturday, November 5, from 2:00 to 9:00 p.m. the Rumanian border guards closed at least two of the Rumanian-Hungarian border crossings: Nagyvárad (Oradea) and Arad.

It was during this period (a three-day work holiday in Hungary) that the greatest number of people would have crossed the border to visit their relatives and friends in Rumania. According to witnesses, many of the would-be visitors turned back, but the majority held out despite the dropping temperatures and the torment of unusually painstaking customs inspections which followed their wait.

The intent behind this measures was clear: to discourage visits from Hungary and dampen the solidarity which is at least as essential to Transylvanian Hungarians as are the most basic foodstuffs, of which, incidentally, Hungary is the only source today.

During the upcoming December holidays, our editorial staff will monitor any further hindrances to border traffic on the Rumanian side, and requests that other news agencies, qualified international organizations and representatives of appropriate organizations in the affected neighboring states do the same.

[Translation from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 14/1983 November 8, 1983

Rules in effect until now have made it possible for foreigners traveling in Rumania to enter certain specially designated stores and, upon presenting their passports, purchase various foods. The practice has applied to merchandise which inhabitants of Rumania can only acquire by means of coupons, or which for years have been unavailable to them (e.g.: meat, butter, oil, etc.)

On November 1 however, a new, secret directive was issued which forbids the sale of the merchandise in question to persons bearing Hungarian passports.

Store managers in Kolozsvár (Cluj), Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), Nagyvárad (Oradea) and Temesvár (Timisoara) confirmed this report, emphasizing that limited quantities could still be purchased by citizens of any foreign country, except Hungary.

APPENDIX F

Further Administrative Measures Instituted To Relegate National Minorities To the Status of Second-Class Citizens

APPENDIX F/1

Threatened Redistricting of Kovászna County to Eliminate Its Compact Ethnic Character

[Translations from Hungarian:]

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 19/1984 April 15, 1984

According to as yet unconfirmed reports, the Rumanian State leadership is presently considering the elimination of the county of KOVÁSZNA (Covasna). Reportedly, the plan is to attach to Bákó (Bacau) County the northern and eastern portions of this county, which is heavily populated by Hungarians. The remaining parts of the Kovászna County would be joined with Brassó (Brasov) County. The planned redistricting would also mean that the city of SEPSISZENTGYÖRGY (Sfintul Gheorghe), the majority of whose inhabitants are Hungarian, would lose its standing as the county seat.

APPENDIX F/2

Restrictions on Use of the Hungarian Language

HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA

Release No. 23/1984 April 26, 1984

According to as yet unconfirmed reports, those working in the service industries (primarily taxi drivers, hotel attendants, and store salespersons) in the cities of Transylvania have been ordered "not to use the Hungarian language." According to our reports, adherence to the rule is being monitored on a continuous basis.

APPENDIX G

News Articles Published in the West
on Minority Oppression in Rumania
May 1983 to June 1984

"Tanjug Reports Revival of Hungarian-Rumanian Argument," Tanjug (Budapest), (May 17, 1983). [An article in the Hungarian literary weekly Élet és Irodalom attacked a book by Ion Lancranjan, published in Rumania, as advocating "drastic assimilation of Hungarians".]

Ström, Carl G. "Mit scharfer Polemik will Moskav eine grössere Blockdisziplin erwingen: Aber Warschav und Bucharest kontern/Streit zwischen den Politburos ist offensichlich" (Moscow Wants Greater Bloc Discipline with Sharp Polemical Tone: But Warsaw and Bucharest Restive/The Dispute among Politburos Is Open), Die Welt (Munich), (May 24, 1983). [A Soviet article attacked Rumania for setting "nation" above "class." Hungarian periodical Élet és Irodalom joined in argument against Rumania.]

"Friedhof verwurstet" (Cemetery Devastated), Suddeutsche Zeitung (Munich), (June 6, 1983). [A cemetery in Oradea (Nagyvárad: a historically Hungarian city in Rumania) was looted and destroyed.]

Dempsey, Judy. "Hungary, The Opposition and the Minority Question," British Broadcasting Corporation (London), (June 15, 1983). [Popular pressure in Hungary is mounting for the Kádár government to take a more vociferous and active stand on Rumania's mistreatment of the Hungarian minority.]

Kondek, Gregor. "Ungarische Minderheit in Bedrägnis: Budapest beklagt Repressalien in den 'Bruderländern'/Drei Millionen sind betroffen" (Hungarian Minority under Duress: Budapest Complains about Repression in the "Brother Lands"/Three Million Are Affected), Die Welt (Munich), (August 2, 1983).

"Ungarn Warnt vor übertriebenen Nationalistischen Tendenzen/Für Budapest ist wieder der Westen an allem Schuld" (Hungary Warns about Exaggerated Nationalist Tendencies: For Budapest the West is Always to Blame in Everything), Die Presse (Vienna), (August 25, 1983). [The Kádár government blames the West for resurgent nationalism, sends a "message" to Bucharest while warning hotheads at home.]

Rosenthal, Bertrand. "Criticism of Repression of Hungarian Minority in Transylvania," Agence France Presse (Tirgu Mures), (September 16, 1983). [Reports arrest of Árpád Visky, Ernő Borbély and László Buzás for "slandering" Rumania.]

Riese, Hans-Peter. "Ein heisser Herbst in Ungarn? Die Bruderländer streiten um die Ungarische Minderheit in Rumänien" (A Hot Autumn in Hungary? Fraternal States Fight over the Hungarian Minority in Rumania), Die Zeit (Hamburg), (October 7, 1983).

Fisher, Dan. "Transylvania Focus of Old Rift between Hungary, Romania," The Hartford Courant (November 24, 1983).

"Zum 65. Jahrestag der 'Grossen Vereinigung:' Widerstandsbewegung klagt Bukarest an" (On the 65th Anniversary of the "Great Unification:" Bucharest Accused by Resistance Movement), Die Presse (Vienna), (November 30, 1983). [Report on the redoubled assimilation drive against the Hungarian minority on the 65th anniversary of Rumania's acquisition of Transylvania, and on an internal democratic resistance movement whose membership includes national minority inhabitants.]

"Hungarian-Language Editors Fired in Romania," Agence France Presse (Vienna), (December 2, 1983). [Report on the dismissal of Sándor Huszár and Andor Horváth from the Hungarian-language Bucharest periodical A Hét (The Week), of Gyula Keszthelyi from the Hungarian-language periodical Igazság (Truth) in Kolozsvár (Cluj Napoca), and of Ernő Gaál from the Hungarian-language periodical Korunk (Our Age) in Kolozsvár.

Martos, Peter. " 'Volksfreiheit' unter Genossen Ceausescu. Zum 65-Jahr-Jubiläum: Die Rumänen frieren beim Lesen der Energiespardekrete" ("People's Freedoms" under Comrade Ceausescu. 65 Year Anniversary: Rumanians freeze while Reading Energy-Saving Plan), Die Presse (Vienna), (December 2, 1983). [Report on economic woes and minority repression in Rumania.]

Ström, C. Gustaf. "Die Not der Ungarn in Rumänien: Immer mehr Einschränkungen/ Budapest fordert besseren Minderheitenschutz" (The Plight of the Hungarians in Rumania: Increasing Limitation/Budapest Demands Better Protection of Minorities), Die Welt (Munich), (December 9, 1983).

Meier, Victor. "Verstärkter Druck auf die Minderheiten. Ungarn: In Siebenbürgen mehrt sich Verzweiflung" (Increasing Pressure on Minorities. The Word from Hungary: Despair Increases in Transylvania), Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Frankfurt), (December 14, 1983).

"Emigre from Romania Told to Seek Residence in West," Associated Press (Budapest), (January 15, 1983). [Report on the activities of Attila Ara-Kovács, formerly an editor of the disbanded Hungarian-language samizdat periodical, Ellenpontok (Counterpoints), in Rumania, and on his current problems with the authorities in Hungary, where he is trying to resettle.]

"Hungary Denies Citizenship to Ara-Kovács, Suggests Emigration," United Press International and Associated Press (Vienna/Budapest), (January 17, 1984).

Zahn, Ingrid. "Herr Vuoter packt nicht den Koffer: Ein Pfarrerschicksal in Siebenbürgen" (Reverend, Don't Pack Your Suitcase: A Priest's Fate in Transylvania), Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und die Welt (Bonn), (February 3, 1984). [Report on the plight of the Saxon (German) minority in Rumania, particularly on the scarcity of Lutheran ministers.]

Bourne, Eric. "Two East-Bloc Allies at Odds over Ethnic Rights in Transylvania," The Christian Science Monitor (Boston), (March 13, 1984).

"Permission for Two Dissidents to Move to Hungary from Rumania," Agence France Presse (Vienna), (April 12, 1984). [Report on two former editors of the disbanded Hungarian-language samizdat periodical, Ellenpontok (Counterpoints), published in Rumania.]

"Sigue la represion en Rumania" (About the Repressión in Rumania), El Alcazar (Madrid), (May 1, 1984). [Report on, among other things, victims of minority oppression: Géza Pálfi, Béla Páll, Árpád Visky, Ernő Borbély, Katalin Bíró.]

"Death of a Hungarian Priest in Transylvania," Agence France Presse (Paris), (May 4, 1984). [Report on the murder of Géza Pálfi by the Rumanian political police.]

Jarczyk, Gwendoline. "En Roumanie: Un Prêtre Hongrois Torturé a Mort" (In Rumania: A Hungarian Priest Tortured to Death), La Croix (Paris), (May 4, 1984).

"Transylvanie: Un prêtre catholique battu à mort" (Transylvania: A Catholic Priest Beaten to Death), Le Matin (Paris), (May 5/6, 1984).

"Transylvanie: Un prêtre catholique battu à morte" (Transylvania: A Catholic Priest Beaten to Death), Du Matin (Paris), (May 6, 1981).

"Roumanie: Un prêtre catolique de la minorité hongroise de Transylvanie" (Rumania: A Catholic priest of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania), Le Monde (Paris), (May 9, 1984).

"Roumanie: Assassinat d'un Prêtre" (Rumania: Murder of a Priest), Le Figaro (Paris), (May 9, 1984).

"Roumanie: Un prêtre hongrois meurt à la suite de tortures" (Rumania: A Hungarian Priest Dies Following Torture), Reforme (Velizy-Villacoublay, France), (May 12, 1984).

"Contra la minorita hongaresa: A Romania hi ha casos de repressió per raons ètniques i religioses" (Against the Hungarian Minority: In Rumania there Are Cases of Repression for Ethnic and Religious Reasons), Avui (Madrid), (May 22, 1984).

"Romanian Authorities Take Measures against Hungarian Minority," Agence France Presse (Vienna), (June 5, 1984).

Basset, Richard, "Romania Turns Screw on its Magyars," The Times (London), (June 6, 1984).

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1984

Two East-bloc allies at odds over ethnic rights in Transylvania

By Eric Bourne
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Vienna

Frictions between two East European allies, Hungary and Romania, are bubbling to the surface over Transylvania. They are even showing up in the local news media.

It is an old dispute. Each regards Transylvania as historically part of its own territory. Since 1920 – apart from an interlude some 40 years ago when Hitler divided Transylvania between the two – this fabled region of mountains and forests has been part of Romania.

After World War I, the Treaty of Trianon placed 2 million Hungarians under Romanian rule, creating a source of periodic tension between the two countries.

The ideological links and membership of postwar communist alliance in the Soviet orbit have not eased these tensions. Hungarians still hold to their stronger historical claim to the territory. But they are realistic enough to know that neither the Soviet Union nor anyone else is likely to restore it to them.

Hungary's complaint over Transylvania is that key aspects of the 1975 Helsinki agreement – the guarantees of human rights for all peoples and nationalities – is being disregarded by Romania in the case of its large (about 1.8 million) Hungarian population.

According to Hungary, discrimination against Magyar culture and education have not been relaxed since Helsinki – but, if anything, have intensified.

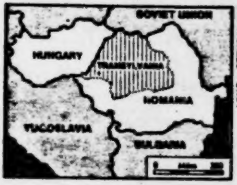
Until recently, Hungarian attitudes had been confined to urging a mutual curb on national extremes (i.e., on Romania's part) and genuine tolerance of national identities. In this particular case, that means preserving a Magyar Transylvania identity.

This is a deeply held *national* sentiment that even communists share. And recently, noted writers in Hungary have been allowed to publicize the issue in open or thinly veiled attacks on Romanian minority policy. Even the Hungarian party paper Nepszabadsag has satirized Romania's policy toward Hungarians.

In December, Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu celebrated the anniversary of the Romanian state set up after World War II with a torrent of speeches, press articles, and even poetry extolling the unity and equality of "all Romanian citizens" living in communist Romania.

Almost coincidentally, editors of several Transylvanian Hungarian-language periodicals were dismissed. One was apparently fired because artwork depicting unification was printed upside down, giving it the appearance of a predator spider.

In Romania, Mr. Ceausescu says, there are no minorities – only Romanians. All people, he insists, have equal rights of language and education, among other things, irrespective of parentage and ethnic origin.



JOAN FORBES – STAFF

The Hungarians say these cultural and linguistic rights are observed largely on paper. Their concerns seem to be supported by the absence of autonomous local units in areas populated almost exclusively by ethnic Hungarians. Those Hungarian bodies that do exist seem to be "facades."

There are also severe limits to keep cultural contacts and travel (as this writer has observed) between Hungarian Transylvania and Hungary to a minimum, extending even to the ban on imports of the latter's media.

Many Hungarians agree with Ceausescu that today's technological age requires a common working language – in industry, for example. But they can also point to linguistic discrimination in school curricula and preferences accorded Romanians in jobs, however well an equally qualified Hungarian may speak the language.

THE TIMES
WEDNESDAY JUNE 6 1984
8

Romania turns screw on its Magyars

From Richard Bassett, Vienna

A new Romanian crackdown on the Hugarian minority in Transylvania has begun, emigré sources said in Vienna yesterday.

The 1.7m Hungarian inhabitants in the province, which by the Treaty of Trianon in 1919 was assigned to Romania, have had to endure a gradual but relentless process of romanization under the Ceasescu regime. The latest measures have included the passing in recent weeks of a decree limiting the numbers of Hungarian peakig students at the University of Cluj to 5 per cent. At present, Hungarians make up almost 65 per cent of student numbers.

In addition, the government has also insisted that geography and history teachers in all schools in Transylvania be Romanians.

The laws follow the sacking late last month of several Hungarian theatre directors in the province who were planning to celebrate the centenary of the Hungarian architect Karolyl Kos in a new play, which the Romanian authorities banned as a fascist provocation.

Searches of Hungarian writers' houses have been stepped recently.

STATEMENT BY REV. JEFFREY A. COLLINS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHRISTIAN RESPONSE INTERNATIONAL, ROCKVILLE, MD

Mr. Collins. I would like to thank you, also, for the opportunity to appear before you today and to address the concerns of our organization.

I personally find it, as an American citizen, a little disheartening to hear American businessmen who enjoy the fruits of the free enterprise system promoting trade benefits to a nation which refuses to give the same economic rights to its own citizens.

I am a little bit concerned as an individual American that our State Department could make the presentation that it did today, giving lip service to the human rights violations in the Socialist Republic of Romania, and at the same time not mentioning human rights violations in the People's Republic of China.

I am a little bit concerned—especially concerned—that religious leaders could appear before this group and praise some legitimate gains made in religious rights in Rumania during the past year without giving any mention to the many travesties of religious freedom which have taken place in that nation during the past year.

I will address a few remarks to the People's Republic of China: During the past 10 months, more than 3,000 Christians have been arrested—Catholics and Protestants—because they refused to join the official Catholic Patriotic Church or the Three-Self-Patriotic Movement, the Protestant equivalent. Both groups are controlled by the government of the People's Republic of China.

Because of changes in the Chinese Criminal Code, six basic changes were brought about by the Sixth National Peoples' Congress which took place in Peking last August, capital punishment is being meted out by local Chinese authorities at their own discretion for six crimes. Five of the six are what we would consider criminal activities here in the United States, such as organized crime, prostitution, et cetera. The fifth has to do with organizing revolutionary movements based on feudalistic superstitions. Many local authorities refer this to organized religion outside the state-controlled denominations or groups. Three Christians in China during the last year have been publicly executed.

We are concerned also about the situation in Romania. We outlined emigration concerns in our written statement. We are concerned also about five additional murders which we have been able to document since 1977. One Orthodox lay leader, two Baptists, and two Pentecostals—and most recently, Traian Bogdan, the Baptist lay leader who was killed in December, found hanged in the loft of a building in Bucharest, was also a member of the Romanian Christian Committee, an unofficial affiliate of Christian Response International.

We remain concerned, and we ask that the U.S. Government, the State Department, look into these travesties of human injustice, both in the People's Republic of China and in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Thank you.

Senator Danforth. Mr. Gereben.

[Mr. Collins' written testimony follows:]

Statement of Rev Jeffrey A. Collins
Executive Director
Christian Response International
Rockville, Maryland

Senator Danforth and Members of the Senate Finance Committee: Thank you for allowing CRI this opportunity to present information at this hearing regarding Most Favored Nation status for the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Christian Response International remains concerned regarding problems surrounding emigration from Romania. A serious example is the emigration case of Teofil Bucur of Ploesti, Romania. While U.S. authorities have indicated that Bucur, 34, a Baptist, will receive permission to immigrate to the United States, he has been waiting for 3 years to receive his Romanian exit passport. The difficulties faced by Bucur during this three-year period are: constant surveillance and regular interrogation by the Romanian secret police because of his religious activities and loss of employment as an engineer. (Please note an attached list of emigration applicants who have faced extreme harassment by Romanian authorities, imprisonment, loss of employment and housing, etc.)

Indeed, substantial numbers of emigration applicants are receiving Romanian exit passports; however, this achievment is often marred by a two to three year wait for U.S. immigration authorities to process U.S. entry applications. In Constanta a Pentecostal family with six children applied to emigrate. It took this family only eight months to receive their exit passports, but it took an additional two years for the family to receive entry visas to the U.S. During this two-year period of waiting for U.S. authorities to grant their request to immigrate, the family lost their employment, the rent doubled on their state-owned apartment and every two months they were required to pay 2000 lei ($180. U.S., equivalent to one-month's salary in Romania) to renew their exit passports.

The real question that needs to be examined by the Finance Committee and Members of the Senate is: Why do hundreds of thousands of Romanian citizens want to emigrate to the West? Granted, there are many reasons (including economic, political and academic) which could be noted here. Christian Response International is most concerned with the severe repression of human rights and religious freedom. Typical is the case of Rev. Ioan Stef and Rev. Beniamin Cocar of the Baptist Church in Medias, Romania. Yesterday Rev. Cocar told CRI, "I want to stay in

Romania if I am allowed to serve as the pastor of my church, but if the pressure and persecution continues, then I will attempt to emigrate."

Rev. Stef and Rev. Cocar have through their evangelistic efforts added many new members to their church. They have the overwhelming popular support of the members of their congregation and other Baptist churches in Romania. The Medias Baptist Church has as a result been vandalized, property has been stolen (including the church organ), Stef and Cocar have been placed under house arrest, have faced many interrogations by the secret police, put on trial, their phone has been tapped and conversations have been cut off and they have been denied access to foreign visitors. (Just two weeks ago the U.S. choir The Continental Singers was told they could not perform at the Medias Baptist Church because there were insufficient hotel accomodations; however, a check of Medias hotels proved there were more than a hundred rooms available.) Just yesterday Stef and Cocar were summoned to the local police department and threatened with a trial for illegally preaching in Romania.

Other Christians like Ovidiu Potborschi of Timisoara, a Baptist layleader active with the religious rights organization The Romanian Christian Committee, has decided to emigrate after spending six months in prison for his religious activities. Five mysterious deaths have been documented since 1977. We attach a list of these five deaths. You will note that two of the Christians murdered were Baptists also working with The Romanian Christian Committee, the Romanian unofficial affiliate of Christian Response International.

Attachment 1

Christian Response International
Box 1712
Rockville, MD 20850

Romanian citizens who have applied for but not yet received passports:

1. Teofil Bucur
   34, Engineer, Baptist
   Ploesti, Romania

2. Nina Faur
   School Teacher, Baptist
   St. Mihai Viteazu 19
   bl 4 ap 78
   Hunedoara, Romania

3. Lucretia Costea
   Army of the Lord (Orthodox)
   St. Cimpului 109
   Cluj, Romania

4. Ovidiu Potborschi
   Baptist
   Intrarea Sebia 10
   Timisoara, Romania

5. Gavril Terlescu
   Baptist
   St. Liviu Baloni Scinteii 41
   Caran Sebes, Romania

6. Ioan Petru Marianic
   Baptist
   St. Teiusului 39
   Caran Sebes, Romania

7. Niculina Teodosiu
   Baptist
   St Sibiului 10
   Cisnadie, Romania

8. Zaharia Sitaru
   Baptist
   Com Prolipet 50
   Caran Sebes, Romania

9. Anton Piperia
   Baptist
   Com Prolipet 50
   Caran Sebes, Romania

10. Elisei Unteanu
    Baptist
    Brasov, Romania

Attachment 2

MYSTERIOUS DEATHS

RADU CRUCERU, Baptist, 1977, after refusing to spy on religious workers in the West and East regarding distribution of Christian literature in Romania. "Arranged" car accident.

PETRU CLIPA, Pentecostal, 1980, found hanged in garage after police arrest and interrogation.

DANIEL PAUFAN, Orthodox (Army of the Lord), 1981, pushed under train after police interrogation.

SABIN THEODOSIU, Baptist, 1981, electrocuted on job 24 hours after police interrogation and "note" to wife that something bad would happen to him if he did not stop his evangelistic work. (Theodosiu cooperated with Christian Response International in Romania through the CRI affiliate The Romanian Christian Committee.)

TRAIAN BOGDAN, Baptist, 1983, found hanged. (Bodan also worked with the Romanian Christian Committee, the Romanian affiliate of Christian Response International.)

Attachment 3

February, 1984 , THE VOICE OF TRUTH (Romanian Missionary Society/Wheaton, Il.)

A Romanian Tragedy

Elena and Traian Bogdan were involved in evangelism and in getting news of religious persecution to the West. Elena escaped to the United States, but her husband has now been found hanged.

Traian Bogdan was a young Christian 19 years of age in the town of Timisoara, Romania, when he joined "The Committee for the Defense of the Freedom of Religion and Conscience" led by Mr. Pavel Nicolescu. For years, this group made it its task to collect information concerning religious persecution in Romania and to send it out to the Western world.

Most of the members of this committee were at various times arrested, beaten and eventually exiled from the country. Traian Bogdan and his wife, Elena (married in 1981), were also involved in extensive evangelism in areas of the country where there are almost no believers. They did their work under constant surveillance by the secret police.

One day in May, 1982, when only Elena was at home, the police came and searched their apartment. Important documents, prepared by Traian to be sent to Christian Solidarity International in Switzerland, were found in their apartment. Elena was taken to police headquarters and interrogated until late that night. Eventually she was released, but she was told to come back for interrogation the following morning with her husband.

Realizing that going to the police would mean arrest, interrogations, beating and imprisonment, that night Traian and Elena decided to go into hiding and then to cross the frontier into Yugoslavia and from there to the free world. They talked about it and Traian decided that it was wiser for Elena to cross the frontier first. As she had grown up in a village near the Danube, where the great river creates the frontier between Romania and Yugoslavia, it was decided that Elena should cross the river by night.

Risking her life, as thousands of others do every year, Elena crossed the one-mile wide river on a raft one dark night. She was arrested in Yugoslavia and imprisoned for two weeks because of entering the country illegally. Then the Yugoslav authorities allowed her to cross the border into Italy, where she asked to immigrate to the United States. After six months in a refugee camp near Rome, Elena was admitted to the United States in May, 1983.

It was her desire, as it was Traian's, to study in a seminary here, so as to be able to work full time for the Lord. Elena started to work in Chicago and to improve her English, while waiting for her husband to cross the frontier and join her in the freedom of America.

It appears that Traian made four unsuccessful attempts at crossing the border. He remained in hiding with different Christian families in various places in Romania. One day, about the middle of November, 1983, Traian left the house where he was staying to make a call from a public telephone. He never came back. On the 24th of December, he was found hanged in the attic of the house where he had been hiding.

There are many known cases of people who died while undergoing interrogation, but who were later found abandoned in other places. In some cases a "suicide" was simulated in order to hide the hand of the secret police. Who can tell what happened in the case of Traian, this young Christian of only 26 years of age? Elena tells us that he deeply and sincerely loved the Lord and that, in all he did, he demonstrated exceptional courage and readiness to sacrifice his life for the freedom and the progress of the Faith.

Whatever "evidence" the communist authorities may produce, we cannot believe that such a man, such a fighter, such a Christian, committed suicide. The responsibility for his death rests with the brutal and oppressive regime under which so many innocent people are suffering tragically.

Who can put into words the shock Elena suffered when she got the news of her husband's death? But she is a committed Christian. She is convinced that her husband was saved and is with the Lord whom he loved, and she has recommitted her life to a total service for the Lord, wherever He may lead. The Romanian Missionary Society is helping her to go through this difficult time and to improve her English so that next fall she may enter a seminary.

This tragic story is yet another illustration of what kind of world communism is. No further comments are needed. ☐

Attachment 4

News

CHRISTIAN RESPONSE INTERNATIONAL Box 1712, Rockville, Maryland 20850 / USA
Telephone: (301) 984-9707

Contact: Steven R. Lawson

ROMANIANS RELEASE CALCIU FROM PRISON FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BUCHAREST, Romania -- Romanian authorities on August 20 unexpectedly released Father Gheorghe Calciu from prison. The 57-year-old Orthodox priest had served five years of a 10-year sentence and was considered by human and religious rights groups to be the most significant case in Romania.

In 1979, Calciu was arrested and tried on unsubstantiated charges of being a fascist. He previously spent 16 years in prison because of his religious activities.

The release follows vigorous campaigns in both the United States and Europe. For the past two months Rockville, Maryland-based Christian Response International and its affiliate offices have been sending post cards to Romanian embassies, interceding directly with the Romanian government and raising Calciu's case before the U.S. Senate. In addition, in March of this year, the Kentucky State Senate and Legislature each passed resolutions in which Calciu's detention was cited as a serious rights violation. EastWatch International, CREED, Door of Hope, Amnesty International and other organizations have also worked to resolve the case.

Romanian exile Radu Capusan spoke by telephone with Calciu. The priest said, "Praise God, I am free. I was released on the 20th of August. I don't know wny."

Calciu also requested, "Don't forget me. Anything can happen here."

The freeing of several other prisoners has been confirmed which indicates that this may be part of a larger amnesty. Romania's National Day is celebrated on August 23rd at which time Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu traditionally pardons prisoners.

The Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. has declined to comment.

Before his 1979 arrest, Calciu, a professor at the Orthodox Seminary in Bucharest, played key roles in inspiring the formation of both the Romanian Christian Committee for the Defense of Believer's Rights (ALRC) and the Romanian Free Trade Union (SLOMR). He often encouraged Romanian Christians to affirm their right to religious freedom--a position that worried Romania's communist government, and most likely led to his arrest.

In his conversation with Capusan, Calciu extended his thanks to Christians in the West who had prayed. He also said he appreciated the intercession of foreign governments who had denounced his imprisonment as a tragic religious rights violation.

"This is a major breakthrough, one we have been praying for for a long time," said Christian Response International Executive Director Rev. Jeffrey A. Collins who had called for freedom for Calciu while testifying at a Senate sub-committee hearing the week prior to the release.

Calciu says that he and his family now want to emigrate to the West.

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30 August 1984 CRI0801

STATEMENT OF ISTVAN B. GEREBEN, COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. **Gereben**. Mr. Chairman, the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America is grateful for the opportunity to express its thoughts in connection with the extension of MFN status to Romania and Hungary before your subcommittee.

On the subject of Romania, we support the statement and conclusions of the Committee for Human Rights in Romania represented by Mr. Hamos.

We have prepared a written statement. I would like to call the attention of the subcommittee to the main points of that statement.

Hungarian emigration laws severely violate the letter and spirit of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974. A long, outstanding, unique family-reunification case is still unresolved. I refer to the case of Imre Nagy and others who were executed in the aftermath of the Hungarian Revolution. The government in Hungary continuously and stubbornly refuses to reveal the location of the gravesites where these Hungarians are buried and to allow the families to carry out a decent burial.

The government in Hungary, contrary to common perception, conducts numerous political trials each year. An article published in a recent issue of Hagyar Fog—Hungarian Law—analyzed the social, educational, and employment backgrounds of 570 randomly selected individuals who were charged with political crimes in the past 10 years. According to this article, more than 70 percent of the accused were blue-collar workers or students. This fact refutes the often-repeated notion that in Hungary opposition to the regime is limited to a "few" intellectuals. The article also indicates that on average at least 57 individuals were tried for political reasons annually in the past decade.

Last year Hungarian authorities increased their harassment of the dissidents to a degree of actual use of physical violence against one of the most prominent members of the democratic opposition, Gabor Demszky, who suffered a concussion requiring several days of hospitalization. Also, police intimidated economist Gyorgy Krasso repeatedly.

Actions against the religious base communities intensified in the past year.

MFN seemingly did not improve trade affected by it. Most items traded between Hungary and the United States were agricultural products or farm machinery related items. U.S. export of high technology items to Hungary decreased more than 50 percent in the past few years, presumably due to the violations of terms of sale for those items by VIDEOTON, the Hungarian stateowned electronics firm and other state enterprises.

According to official Hungarian statistics, Hungary's trade with each of its 10 top partners in 1983 resulted in huge deficits. The only exception is the Soviet Union, which does not pay Hungary in hard currency.

MFN status for Hungary can be justified only if it benefits the people of Hungary, not only the governing bureaucracy.

To assure that this objective is achieved, we urge you to formulate U.S. trade and foreign policy goals in such a way that the complete situation in Hungary is considered in the light of traditional U.S. moral principles as well as economic interests.

Thank you.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you very much.

[The written testimony of Mr. Gereben follows:]

COORDINATING COMMITTEE
OF
HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

ISTVAN B. GEREBEN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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Statement

of

The Coordinating Committee of Hungarian
Organizations in North America

before the

Subcommittee on International Trade
of the
Committee on Finance
United States Senate

concerning

The continuation of the President's
authority to waive the Trade Act
Freedom of Emigration Provisions

delivered by

Istvan B. Gereben
Executive Secretary

August 8, 1984

Mr. Chairman:

The Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America is grateful for the opportunity to express its thoughs in connection with the extention of MFN status to Rumania and Hungary.

On the subject of Rumania we support the statements and conclusions of the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania and the Committee of Transylvania.

We submit a written statement. I would like to call the attention of the Subcommittee to the main points of that statement.

- Hungarian emigration laws severely violate the letter and spirit of Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

- A long outstanding unique family reunification case is still unresolved. I refer to the case of Imre Nagy and others who were executed in the aftermath of the Hungarian Revolution. The Government in Hungary continuously and stubbornly refuses to reveal the loation of the gravesites where these Hungarians are buried.

- The government in Hungary - contrary to common perception - conducts numerous political trials each year. An article published in a recent issue of Magyar Jog (Hungarian Law) analyzed the social, educational and employment backgrounds of 570 randomly selected individuals who were charged with political crimes in the past 10 years. According to this article, more than 70 perent of the accused were blue collar workers or students (11.2%). This fact refutes the often repeated notion that in Hungary opposition to the regime is limited to a "few" intellectuals. The article also indicates that in average at least 57 individuals were tried for political reasons annually in the past decade.

- Last year Hungarian authorities increased their harrassment of the dissidents to a degree of actual use of physical violence against one of the most prominent members of the democratic opposition, Gabor Demszky (he suffered a concussion requiring several days of hospitalization), as well as police intimidation of economist Gyorgy Krasso.

- Actions against the religious base communities intensified in the past year.

- MFN seemingly did not improve trade effected by it. Most items traded between Hungary and the United States were agricultural products or farm machinery related items. U.S. export of high technology items to Hungary decreased more than 50% in the past few years, presumably due to the violations of terms of sale for those items by VIDEOTON, the Hungarian state owned electronics firm and other state enterprises.

- According to official Hungarian statistics Hungary's trade with each of its ten top partners in 1983 resulted in huge deficits. The only execption is the Soviet Union which does not pay Hungary in hard currency.

- The debt of Hungary exceeds 8 billion dollars, close to 800 dolars per capita.

- The economic reform praised by western experts is merely a way of compensating for the poor performance of Hungary's economy.

MFN status for Hungary can be justified only if it benefits the people of Hungary, not only the governing bureaucracy.

To assure that this objective is achieved, we urge you to fomulate U.S. trade and foreign policy goals in such a way that the complete situation in Hungary is considered in the light of traditional U.S. moral principles, as well as economic interests.

My name is Istvan B. Gereben. I am the Executive Secretary of the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America, the consultative body of major Hungarian organizations in the United States and Canada. It is in this capacity that I am presenting this statement. It is a privilege to share our views with members of this subcommittee. Thank you for this opportunity.

Granting "most favored nation" status to Hungary is no small matter. Congress must share responsibility with the President in the evaluation of the intent, attitude, practice, and trustworthiness of the Hungarian Government. Congress also must balance the benefits of the agreement to the average Hungarian and to the U.S. against the doubts obviously generated by the promises of a government which is lead by Mr. Kadar, who is known for not keeping his word.

When we improve our relations with Hungary we must know that we do not deal with a sovereign government, we must know that despite the superficial statements of tourists, IREX academics, businessmen, evangelists, and eager diplomats, Hungary is a member of a skillfully controlled block of satellites, occupied by Soviet troops and ideology and serves the interest of the Kremlin. Independence is not the characteristic of the government in Hungary.

The servility of Mr. Kadar's regime to the masters in the Kremlin is undisputably evidenced by Hungary's absence from the Los Angeles Olympiad.

Further example of lack of Hungary's sovereignty--even in matters of trade--is the regime performance in adhering to U.S. export control laws. Our Committee learned that VIDEOTON, the state owned electronic enterprise violated U.S. regulations controling U.S. export of high technology items. This violation seemingly affected the volume of export of U.S. high technology items to Hungary. According to the June 1984 Quarterly Report of the U.S. International Trade Commission the dollar value of U.S. exports of high Technology items to Hungary decreased to $3.7 million in 1983 from 8.87 million in 1981. A further decrease is evident in the reports covering the first half of 1984 (see Attachment I).

Our committee inquired into Hungarian government performance in adhering to U.S. export control laws. To our inquiry, we received a letter from Dr. Stephen D. Bryen, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Economic, Trade and Security Policy. We have been informed that the Defense Department cannot comment on the performance of any East European state since it involves classified information. He, however, stated that "U.S. export control policies and procedures assume that all East European states, including Hungary, are obliged to provide technology to the Soviet Union." (For relevant correspondence see Attachment II.)

It is comforting to know that our government - at least some officials of our government - have the proper perception of the sovereignty of the East-Central European states, including Hungary. Sovereign states cannot be made "obligated" to break committments having the force of international law.

The "obligations" of the Hungarian regime: the accommodation of the Kremlin's request to boycott the Los Angeles Olympics and the provision of U.S. high technology gained through regulated trade to the Soviet Union are only some of the evidence of Hungary's lack of independence. If in matters of sport and trade with the United States the regime is controled by the Kremlin how can we logically assume that it's actions involving more pertinent matters, i.e., foreign policy or domestic economic reform, are independent?

In light of the above and since the state is the sole trader in Hungary, it is conceivable that the preceived benefits of maintained MFN status will be channeled not to the people but to serve the purposes of the oppressive government. To avoid this we suggest that the economic benefits of MFN status to the average Hungarian be monitored. Such monitoring should include the following: Effect of U.S. trade on the standard of living of Hungarians; personnel, management, wage policies of jointly-owned enterprises and the use of Hungary as a trade intermediary between the United States and a third party.

We would like to state that our Committee always interpreted the Jackson Vanik Amendment in a broader perspective than addressing emigration from the Soviet Union. We and presumably some other wittnesses testifying on this subject before this Subcommittee in the past believed and still believe that Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 represents congressional endorsement of the policy of linkage established long ago by the U.S. Government and maintained by several successive Administrations. In this context we always believed that it is proper, if not mandatory, to assess the performance of these countries concerning the full spectrum of human rights and not narrow the evaluation to emigration rights alone.

The fact that the Hungarian People's Republic monitors these hearings with great attention and is sensitive to the gap between its public and official images of its human rights record, is the best justification for the continuation of frequent and thorough assessment of its performance on this field. The fact that there is no outstanding family unification case between the United States and Hungary is a tribute to the effectiveness of these hearings. The fact that the Hungarian government granted exit visas to several members of the democratic opposition earlier this year just before a decision was due on its loan request to the IMF, and after a persistent campaign to call the attention of the public and government agencies to the plight of the Hungarian intellectuals proves that linkage works. We believe that the time spent by the Chairman and the members of this Subcommittee listening to independent assessments of the performance of the Hungarian People's Republic on the human rights field is a small price to pay for the results enjoyed by millions of Hungarians. With these thoughts in mind we submit our evaluation of Hungary's performance on the field of human rights.

The main areas of infringement of human rights by the Hungarian government fall in the following three categories: freedom of movement, freedom of speech and freedom of religion. There are at the same time numerous, hard-to-document infringements on such human rights as the right to privacy, the right of assembly, the right to a fair trial, and the right to freely choose one's political affiliation. These are sometimes a priori denied and even though in the course of our contacts, we fail to take notice of them, they are nevertheless painfully present for millions of Hungary's citizens who must live according to political and human rights standards so far inferior to ours that it is hard for us to comprehend them. This inability to comprehend the scope of totalitarian control over the individual and over society may very well be the source of our tendency to either deny, or at least act as if we deny, the absence of these most basic human rights.

The following details of the specific infringements by the Hungarian government on the human rights of its citizens are only the most obvious, the most easily demonstrable injustices committed by it. They are the manifestations of an all pervading denial of individual freedom and justice.

The fact that violations against basic human rights are often carried out with more sophisticated, more refined methods than those committed in other parts of the world by other totalitarian governments is irrelevant to a consideration of the merits of Hungary's regime and its worthiness of receiving special privileges from the United States.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

The Hungarian People's Republic has the most restrictive emigration laws in Eastern Europe. As a consequence there was no recorded emigration from Hungary--other than family unification cases--in the past year. If the condition for MFN is emigration performance, Hungary rates behind Rumania and the Soviet Union.

The Hungarian emigration laws severly violate the letters and spirit of Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

Several family unification cases involving other Western countries than the United States, which do not have the leverage of Section 402 and its yearly review requirement, are still unresolved.

Passport regulations--in our opinion, part of emigration, freedom of movement issues--are arbitrary and provide the state with a tool of punishment for dissidents. Contrary to the popular perception not all Hungarian citizens enjoy the privilege of having a passport. Gyorgy Krasso, one of the Hungarian dissidents, applied in vain for a passport for the past 15 years to visit his brother in England. The passport of Gyorgy Kocsi, a young Catholic priest, was withdrawn last year as punishment for the participation in the Charismatic basis communities disapproved by the state. Sandor Csoori the internationally respected writer was denied permission to go to Italy last year as a punishment for writing a introduction to a book authored by a member of the Hungarian minority in Czechslovakia and published here in the United States. Csoori was critical of the Hungarian regime's apathy towards the fate of the Hungarians living in neighboring states. In addition to the denial of permission to leave the country Csoori was banned from publication of his essays for a year.

There are many similar cases of interference by the state with the right of free movement in Hungary. Besides the mentioned cases, there are still many others, involving ordinary citizens who are denied passports and exit visas for "administrative" reasons. In these cases, the considerations are never clearly identified and the individual is forced to rely on his imagination to figure out why he was not permitted to travel.

The harrasment of certain intellectuals who have joined the illegal opposition often includes the threat of not being allowed to travel abroad. It is always made clear to those applying for travel documents that the responsible state offices reserve the prerogative to deny these to anyone they wish to prevent from travelling. Since the system of appeals is controlled by those who make the decisions to begin with, these do not provide any suitable safeguards to the individuals of the right to know the grounds for rulings against them.

Travel abroad is not a right in Hungary, it is a privilege granted by a representative of the regime.

A long outstanding unique family unification case is still unresolved by the Hungarian regime. I refer to the case of Imre Nagy and others who were executed in the aftermath of the Hungarian revolution. The Government in Hungary continuously and stubbornly refuse to reveal the location of the gravesites where these Hungarans are buried. Last year on the 25th anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy, many distinguished Americans: Jimmy

Carter, Arthur Goldberg, Leo Cherne, William Buckley, Walter Mondale, Charlton Heston, Clair Boothe Luce, Bayard Rustin, Eugene Wigner,and Edward Teller among them, signed an appeal to the Chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic requesting him and his government to identify the gravesites, to permit the recovery of the remains for proper interment by the surviving family members. President Reagan in a public letter strongly endorsed this appeal, stating: "I commend the efforts to identify the graves of the gallant men and women of the Revolution and to secure access to their remains for proper burial after so many years of anguish on the part of family and friends."

In June of this year Senator Percy wrote to the Ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the United States urging him and his government to resolve this issue. Senator Percy, as everybody before him who inquired about the gravesites, has not been given the courtesy of a reply.

We urge the Subcommittee to add the support of Congress to these appeals by conveying the concerns of the American people to the officials of the Hungarian People's Republic and remind them that without the timely and satisfactory solution of the unique family unification cases, involving the executed victims of their ascendancy to power, the yearly extension of MFN status for the Government in Hungary will not be an automatic, periodic exercise. This is the least that Congress ought to do if it holds family unification as its primary condition for extending MFN status to Hungary.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

The most blatant violations in this category have to do with the publication of an ever growing number of samizdat writings and periodicals and with the conviction of an idenfinite number of individuals for "incitement" and "harming the public interest." Those responsible for writing, duplicating and distributing samizdat periodicals such as BESZELO (the title is hard to translate because of its multiple meanings, but it can be rendered as "The place where prisoners are allowed to talk to their loved ones") and HIRMONDO (The Messenger) have been under particular pressure this past year. After the so-called Samizdat Boutique, the place where illegal publications could be obtained by anyone brave enough to visit it, was evicted from the central Budapest apartment of Laszlo Rajk, the most notorious form of police brutality was used against Gabor Demszky, another prominent member in the underground network of regime's opponents. He had been one of those who started an illegal publishing house called AB.

Demszky was approached on September 24, 1983 by police outside of the Budapest apartment building of Laszlo Rajk, another dessident. Demszky refused to allow the confiscation of a private letter without a warrant. An ensuing argument developed into a scuffle, resulting in Demszky being so badly beaten that he was hospitalized for three days with a concussion. Concern for a fair trial was expressed by the State Department and by Congressman Fascell, the Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. (See Attachment III.)

Demszky was charged with attacking the policemen and tried on December 21, 1983. Western observers, including a member of the U.S. Embassy were not allowed in the trial room. The court found Demszky guilty and delivered a 6 months jail sentence. The sentence was suspended for 3 years. Demszky's appeals was rejected on May 22, 1984.

The authorities scored a victory. Demszky was effectively silenced for 3 years without demaging Western reaction. "He was not really sent to jail." The sophisticated and effective control of the regime was again evident.

At 6 a.m. on June 8, 1984, Gyorgy Krasso, a prominent dissident was taken in by the police for questioning about an interview he had given to the samizdat periodical HIRMONDO in December 1983. Released nine hours later Krasso was warned that charges of incitement were prepared against him and told he should enlist the services of a lawyer to defend him at his forthcoming trial. A few days later however - presummably after assessing Western reactions - he was told that the investigation has been now closed and that no further action was contemplated against him, though he was given a police warning. Bill Lomax of the University of Nottingham writes in the current issue of Index on Censorship:

> "The inverview about which Gyorgy Krasso was questioned by the police was about the trial and execution of Imre Nagy and the other revolutionary leaders... It is perhaps no coincidence that Krasso's detention by police, and the threat of a trial come exactly a week before this year's anniversary of the executions on June 16, 1958. The Hungarian authorities, it seems, still feel obligated to violate the memory of the dead by suppressing the true facts about their execution. The bodies of Imre Nagy and his comrades lie in unmarked graves and over a quarter of a century after they were executed, their relatives are still denied the right to know in which graves they are buried...
>
> While Gyorgy Krasso no longer faces the immediate prospect of being brought to trial he was suffered time and again as a result of his efforts to estab-

lish the truth."

Although these instances of police intimidation and brutality are by no means negligible, their subjects have one advantage over many other victims of police arbitrariness and disregard of the law. They have access to publicity through their writings and their contacts with various Western supporters. This is not the case for the large number of ordinary workers who are convicted every year of "incitement, and harming the public interest."

An article published in the February 1984 issue of Magyar Jog gives account of a study, conducted by Dr. Lajos Kovacs, Professor of the Hungarian Police Officers College determining the casual factors involved in incitement and harming the public interest.

According to this study of 402 cases involving 570 accused, a significant portion of those investigated were workers and students who had not had any form of higher education. 79.2% of the 570 individuals examined had not completed the equivalent of our high schools, and only less that 5% of them had a college degree. (For further details of the study see Attachment IV.)

The significance of the study is that it gives evidence of widely based dissent--as expressed by "incitement" and reveals that this dissent is not limited to "intellectuals". The statistics reveal that "political crime" exists in Hungary and the majority of the convicted are blue collar workers whom the regime fears more than the intellectuals and who do not enjoy the international publicity afforded to the well known intellectuals.

The information conveyed by this article, combined with the articles in HIRMONDO, clearly indicates that the situation in Hungary is not so rosy as some of our officials perceive it.

The case of the members of the Cpg Rock Group also belongs in the category of freedom of speech.

The Capital Court sentenced the following on May 23, 1984: Zoltan Benko, a 22 year old unskilled worker, Bela Haska and Zoltan Nagy, both 20 year old unskilled workers, to 2 year prison sentences and the underaged Z. V., trade school student, to a suspended sentence of 2 years in prison. (See Attachment V for the contents of their songs earning them these sentences.)

The legal justification for the sentence accused these young men of "incitement against the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic and against its international alliance, friendship and cooperation agreements. Their motives were rooted in nihilism and anarchism, or in other words in the desire to create hatred. This was born out concretely in part by the rock numbers they performed. They however also had numbers which achieved these ends by using allegories and metaphors intended to create these emotions." (Hirmondo, 6-7, 1984, pp 62-64.).

Besides the Cpg group, three members of a rock group called "Mosoly" (Smile) were also convicted early this year for three of their numbers with similar messages. Jozsef Erdos, a 20 year old worker, received 1 1/2 years in jail plus 1 year suspended sentence, two underaged members of the group received 1 year in jail plus a 3 year suspended sentence each.

More recently, at a large peace festival at Pusztavacs on August 4, 1984, a number of young people were arrested allegedly for disturbing the peace. However, it is unclear from the Hungarian articles what the real causes of the described disturbances were. Descriptions in the Hungarian press and on the radio reveal only that some young people, including those arrested and convicted in a period of less than four days, had gotten up on stage and "prevented the rock group whose turn it was to play from presenting its program." Judging by the speed of the arraignment and conviction, it is quite possible that there was more to the disturbance than what was covered by the Hungarian press. (Hungarian press and media sources which covered the disturbances were: Nograd, Aug. 7, 1984; Heves Megyei Nepujsag, Aug. 10, 1984; Magyar Ifjusag, Aug. 10, 1984; Radio Budapest, 20:00 GMT, Aug. 4, 1984.)

According to the Italian left wing newspaper, Il Manifesto (Rome, Aug. 7, 1984, pp 183), policemen, using tear gas and dogs, were needed to quell the disturbances. This same source indicated that there were also some allegedly unrelated demonstrations at this peace festival for bilateral disarmament, including banners calling for the withdrawal of all weapons from Europe.

FREEDOM OF RELIGON

Religious freedom in Hungary is controlled by the state through its Office of Religious Affairs (AEH), which has to agree to all ordinations of priests and bishops and which keeps its "representatives" in the offices of Hungary's episcopate.

The largest problem, which remains unresolved today is that of the basis communities within the Catholic Church, in particular those under the leadership of the Piarist priest, father Gyorgy Bulanyi. The basis communities are strict followers of the precepts of non-violence and interpret Christ's teachings as opposing military service. A number of the young members of these groups who are eligible for active military duty have refused to be drafted. As a result, many have been sentenced to hard labor or to military prisons.

Early this summer Gyula Simonyi, a 31 year old mathematician, the father of three children and a reserve officer, refused service before being called up for duty. He was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment. Janos Magyar and Laszlo Mohos, who reported ready for prison at the military chief prosecutor's office in Budapest, after receiving their draft notices, received prison sentences of 2 1/2 years. Laszlo Babos, a 19 year old worker from Erd who just had his high school diploma, was sentenced to two years and two months imprisonment for refusing military service.

The faithful cannot turn to the hierarchy for help or support. Cardinal Lekai chooses to subordinate the interest of the Church in all questions that have to do with military service to those of the state.

The list of those persecuted with the active consent and help of the hierarchy grows longer and longer as the number of those unwilling to cooperate in short-changing Catholic religious principles and denying Hungarian national interests. The hierarchy, instructed by the Office of Religious Affairs punishes those priests who cooperate with the Bulanyi followers.

Recently four priests have been removed from their flourishing parishes as punishment for their support of the so called Bulanyist: Laszlo Kovacs, Imre Tornai, Gyula Havasi and Laszlo Bisztrai.

For further details of the situation of the Catholic Church see our Committee's Testimony in: "Protecting and Promoting Religious Rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union; Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, June 12, 1984"; U.S. Government Printing Office, Document No. 36-3070 pp 260-311.

The Hungarian regime's exploitation of religious leaders is well illustrated by the recently issued declaration condemning "U.S. imperialism that threatens world peace." This statement was signed jointly by the leaders of Hungary's major religions. A group of young Jewish intellectuals issued a Manifesto protesting the action of the Jewish leaders stating that they "had no right to sign on behalf of Hungarian Jewry a unilateral declaration that ignores the role of Soviet weapons held by Arabs who are plotting to annihilate Israel."

Hungarian authorities not only exploit the Jewish leaders to further the cause of the international aims of the Soviets, but outright persecute the Jewish faithful. Two students of the Rabinical Institiute of Hungary, Ferenc Benyi (born in 1960) and Tamàs Szabados (born in 1963) were drafted in the Army in 1982. (Students of the seminaries of all religions routinely are drafted after the acceptance by the seminaries for military duty, during which they are exposed to special hardships, harassements to discourage them to return to the seminaries). Both Benyi and

Szabados requested permission to adhere to the regulations of their religion: opportunity to pray twice daily, access to ritual food, and observance of Jewish religious holidays. After their request was made they were arrested and transported to a military penetentiary. There they were forced to take off their religious clothing worn under their shirts. At their trial, they were informed that if they insisted at their request they face a possible 4 year internment for denail of military service. Benyi and Szabados withdrew their request and received "only" a 1 year suspended jail sentence. Benyi returned to the barracks, Szabados was taken to a military psychiatric institute for treatment of schizophrenia. Benyi, with the other draftees from theological seminaries, cannot attend church, cannot visit any religious activities, and are forbidden to assemble for any reason for the duration of his military service.

The example of these two Jewish students illustrates the sophisticated method of using military service to disrupt theological studies and discourage seminarians to pursue their chosen vocation.

Other religious groups face similar efforts by the government, through its Office of Religious Affairs (AEH), to exert its influence on their leadership. The Lutheran Evangelicals and the Calvinist Reformed Church continue to be lead by bishops willing to serve the interests of the Hungarian state, often to the detriment of their own congregations. Most recently, Bishop Zoltan Kaldy of the Evangelical Church, in the course of the World Lutheran Conference held in Budapest, expressed his support for the Hungarian government's stand on peace and disarmament and implicityly criticised the West and the U.S. for presenting threats to world peace.

Kaldy has also been envolved in an argument about his "theology of diaconia," criticised in the West by Vilmos Vajta, the former director of the Theological Department of the Lutheran World Federation and Director of the Ecumenical Institute of the Lutheran World Federation. (See Attachment VI for documents from Religion in Communist Lands VOL 12, No. 2, Summer 1984). An open letter signed by five bishops of the Hungarian Evangelical Lutheran Church rejects the charges made by Rev. Vajta that Kaldy's "theology" is merely a rationalization for transforming his church into a servant of the Communist state.

Some of the smaller Protestant religious groups, such as the Baptists have also had grave conflicts between their leaders and the faithful over the direction their churches were taking and the acquiescence of their leaders to state control, especially in such matters as the election of bishops.

The above is by no means a complete list of Hungarian breaches of basic human rights. As was mentioned in the introduction, the basic priniples of government in Hungary deny the right of the individual to make moral and ethical choices according to his own beliefs. Moreover, the assumption in Hungary, contrary to all appearances, is that the state always knows better what is good for the individual, therefore, the individual must acquiesce whenever the state decides to impose its judgement. Those instances of apparent "freedom," especially as these contrast to cases in other Eastern European countries, must not be mistaken for what we consider to be freedom in the West. Even when millions of Hungarians are allowed to travel, cases in which passports are denied for political reasons remind us that the prerogatives of the majority can be withdrawn at any time, depending on the whim of the state. In such circumstances, human rights cannot be considered as guaranteed.

Our committee considering the current, deteriorating human rights performance of the Hungarian People's Republic is convinced that continuation of MFN status for Hungary can be justified only if it benefits the people of Hungary, not just the governing bureaucracy.

To assure that this objective is achieved we urge the Congress of the United States to request the President and his Administration to formulate U.S. trade and foreign policy goals regarding Hungary which consider the complete situation in Hungary in the light of traditional U.S. moral principles as well as political and economic interests.

COORDINATING COMMITTEE
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HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

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Attachment I

to the

Statement

of

The Coordinating Committee of Hungarian
Organizations in North America

before the

Subcommittee on International Trade
of the
Committee on Finance
United States Senate

concerning

The continuation of the President's
authority to waive the Trade Act
Freedom of Emigration Provisions

HUNGARY'S TRADE WITH THE U.S. AND OTHER IMPORTANT PARTNERS

Excerpts from recent Quarterly Reports to the Congress and the Trade Policy Committee on Trade between the U.S. and the Nonmarket Economy Countries by the U.S. International Trade commission and from publications of the Central Statistical Office of Hungary.

Table A-10.--U.S. trade with Hungary, by SITC Sections, 1983, January-March 1983, and January-March 1984

(In thousands of dollars)

SITC Section	1983	January-March 1983	January-March 1984
U.S. exports:			
0. Food and live animals	51,385	12,080	9,185
1. Beverages and tobacco	1,121	457	-
2. Crude materials--inedible, except fuel	4,791	832	2,534
3. Mineral fuels, lubricants, etc	28	2	1
4. Oils and fats--animal and vegetable	3	-	-
5. Chemicals	10,768	653	1,885
6. Manufactured goods classified by chief material	8,068	1,442	989
7. Machinery and transportation equipment	27,807	3,816	7,136
8. Miscellaneous manufactured articles	4,613	1,576	484
9. Commodities and transactions not elsewhere classified	1,194	537	321
Total	109,781	21,395	22,535
U.S. imports:			
0. Food and live animals	37,262	10,948	11,384
1. Beverages and tobacco	2,122	1,123	735
2. Crude materials--inedible, except fuel	3,682	702	547
3. Mineral fuels, lubricants, etc	-	-	24
4. Oils and fats--animal and vegetable	-	-	-
5. Chemicals	10,683	3,098	3,156
6. Manufactured goods classified by chief material	19,398	5,776	5,795
7. Machinery and transportation equipment	40,655	9,272	19,596
8. Miscellaneous manufactured articles	39,993	8,204	12,081
9. Commodities and transactions not elsewhere classified	703	91	121
Total	154,493	39,212	53,439

Source: Compiled from official statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Note.--Because of rounding, figures may not add to totals shown.

HUNGARY'S TRADE WITH ITS MOST IMPORTANT PARTNERS IN 1983

Country	Total Trade in millions of Ft.	Imports in millions of Ft.	Exports in millions of Ft.
Soviet Union	222290.5	104186.4	118104.1
FRG	64815.1	37271.1	27544.1
GDR	46349.0	24399.9	21949.1
Czechoslovakia	36746.9	18711.0	18035.9
Austria	33477.6	17162.0	18315.6
Poland	30702.6	15948.3	14754.3
Yugoslávia	26091.9	13284.3	12807.1
Italy	20899.5	8471.2	12424.3
Libya	19942.5	15535.0	4407.5
U.S.A.	17192	9584.3	7608.6
TOTAL	518508.1	264553.5	253950.5

Totals do not add due to rounding

Exchange rate: $ 1.00= 47.00Ft.
Trade deficit: $ 235 million

Source: Central Statistical Office of Hungary

The difference between U.S. and Hungarian sources regarding trade between the two country is an interesting one. It is explained by the way each country determines the origin and destination of the traded items.

Appendix C-2.—U.S. high-technology exports to the world, by country and by year, 1979-83—Continued

(In thousands of dollars: f.a.s. value basis)

Commodity/Country	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Total					
Djibouti	39	33	2	56	492
Dominican Republic	10,970	19,042	20,704	17,576	20,510
Ecuador	21,734	28,878	39,639	35,482	16,380
Egypt	44,878	52,229	55,618	109,755	152,134
El Salvador	39,133	37,960	34,295	38,544	39,404
Equatorial Guinea	-	34	8	7	-
Ethiopia	1,912	1,916	4,750	2,793	2,051
Falkland Islands	-	-	6	28	82
Finland	49,678	82,358	87,641	88,221	79,401
France	843,997	1,168,443	1,327,655	1,313,672	1,203,896
French Guiana	149	278	252	138	1,777
French Indian Ocean Areas	50	17	34	239	104
French West Indies	1,109	1,192	2,118	1,492	1,817
Gabon	2,462	1,668	4,434	3,943	1,832
Gaza Strip	33	43	6	3	648
Germany, East	2,625	2,043	1,994	6,975	15,666
Germany, West	1,298,968	1,727,852	1,978,968	1,839,872	1,866,321
Ghana	781	3,023	1,915	3,019	834
Gibraltar	260	39	86	273	47
Greece	28,931	35,628	48,432	45,883	36,060
Greenland	289	9	38	437	87
Guatemala	14,078	15,331	18,441	12,719	9,361
Guinea	177	455	219	1,117	438
Guinea-Bissau	195	287	712	912	672
Guyana	1,368	1,292	993	720	865
Haiti	22,751	21,110	20,171	18,383	18,496
Honduras	9,471	9,216	9,420	6,823	8,976
Hong Kong	324,174	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	612,686
Hungary	3,253	7,365	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Iceland	7,456	2,558	4,267	5,308	3,878
India	76,731	84,434	125,650	165,117	177,939
Indonesia	34,915	46,267	89,516	139,514	120,764
Iran	37,300	68	1,527	2,325	5,471
Iraq	8,803	13,475	19,883	29,447	20,631
Ireland	179,169	265,728	347,042	385,824	504,148
Israel	132,218	171,835	216,129	236,635	311,818
Italy	362,757	322,866	380,223	372,574	550,903
Ivory Coast	2,485	2,518	3,522	3,607	3,050
Jamaica	4,243	5,930	8,818	13,485	14,660
Japan	1,013,874	1,285,239	1,722,567	1,831,477	2,073,491
Jordan	7,484	18,330	19,648	24,440	47,076
Kenya	3,013	4,235	4,366	4,867	3,654

U.S. HIGH-TECHNOLOGY EXPORTS TO HUNGARY, JAN.-MARCH 1984
U.S. domestic exports

(In thousands of dollars: f.a.s. value basis)

Country/Commodity	1984				
	January-March	April-June	July-September	October-December	Total
Hungary					
6308500 Base metals, nspf, wrought, un	60	6	0	0	66
6762680 Analog & hybrid adp machines c	0	7	0	0	7
6762700 Digital adp machines comprisin	0	9	0	0	9
6762820 Digital central processing uni	2	26	0	0	28
6762825 Random access auxiliary storag	12	146	0	0	159
6762830 Serial access auxiliary storag	29	0	0	0	29
6762840 Terminals, nspf, for automatic	0	17	0	0	17
6762855 Printers for automatic data pr	6	19	0	0	24
6762870 Communication and peripheral e	0	1	0	0	1
6765560 Parts, nspf, of automatic data	10	4	0	0	14
6785065 Machines for production & asse	0	10	0	0	10
6852085 Television apparatus, nspf, an	3	0	0	0	3
6852705 Radio transceivers, citizens b	0	8	0	0	8
6852765 Radio telegraphic/telephonic t	7	33	0	0	40
6854010 Tape recorders and dictation m	0	2	0	0	2
6854075 Tape recorders, except audio a	16	15	0	0	30
6856055 Parts, nspf, for radio navigat	0	3	0	0	3
6876027 Power transistors (dissipation	0	1	0	0	1
6876035 Itegrated circuits, monolithic	2	0	0	0	2
6876062 Thyristors	1	0	0	0	1
6876089 Parts, nspf, of transistors an	1	0	0	0	1
6884060 Electrical articles, nspf, and	4	81	0	0	85
7088100 Frames and mountings, and part	1	2	0	0	3
7096340 Apparatus based on the use of-	0	1	0	0	1
7096640 Measuring & controlling equipm	0	11	0	0	11
7101820 Meteorological and hydrologica	0	3	0	0	3
7102820 Geophysical instruments and ap	43	26	0	0	69
7108900 Optical measuring or checking-	1	0	0	0	1
7118062 Display & contrl recvr type in	52	0	0	0	52
7118710 Chemical analysis equipment, e	8	55	0	0	60
7118734 Liquid chromatographs, nonelec	0	28	0	0	28
7118741 Electrochemical instruments	1	0	0	0	1
7118743 Thermal analysis instruments,-	1	92	0	0	93
7118747 Chemical analysis equipment, n	0	2	0	0	2
7118750 Physical analysis equipment, e	42	107	0	0	149
7118760 Physical analysis equipment, e	5	0	0	0	5
7121520 Instruments and apparatus for-	1	14	0	0	15
7125020 Apparatus to test voltage, cur	3	12	0	0	15
7125032 Oscilloscopes and oscillograph	2	10	0	0	12
7125040 Instruments for measuring or t	9	0	0	0	9
7125045 Equipment, nspf, for testing e	1	1	0	0	2
7125052 Instruments for measuring or c	1	0	0	0	1
7125055 Instruments for measuring or c	0	2	0	0	2
7244585 Magnetic recording media nspf,	0	1	0	0	1
Total	324	750	0	0	1,074

SOURCE: Compiled from official statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

"In 1982 Hungary had imposed quotas and a 20-percent surcharge on certain hard-currency imports in order to rebuild the country's foreign exchange reserves, which had been depleted by the withdrawal of funds by foreign depositors, particularly during the first quarter of that year. After numerous consultations with Hungarians the Contracting Parties decided to allow Hungary, which acceded to GATT membership in 1973, to keep these measures in force on a temporary basis, until the country's balance-of-payments situation improves."

"A resolution of disapproval against Hungary's MFN status was introduced in the House of Representatives (during last year's Congressional review period, H.Res. 257).The House resolution against the MFN status of Hungary was indefinitly postponed".

"No significant progress in comlying with the frequently repeated request of Hungary and Romania and their U.S. business partners for a multiyear MFN status of these countries occured in 1983."

The above quotes are from the 37th Quarterly Report of the United States International Trade Commission (March, 1984.)

The Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America expressed its views concerning multiyear MFN status for Hungary in its testimony before the Subcommittee on Trade of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. For a transcript of the testimony see "CERTAIN TARIFF AND TRADE BILLS, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Trade of the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives; April 27 and May 5, 10, 1983. (Serial 98-17)"pp 210-231.

COORDINATING COMMITTEE
OF
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ISTVAN B. GEREBEN
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Attachment II

to the

Statement

of

The Coordinating Committee of Hungarian
Organizations in North America

before the

Subcommittee on International Trade
of the
Committee on Finance
United States Senate

concerning

The continuation of the President's
authority to waive the Trade Act
Freedom of Emigration Provisions

CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING HUNGARY'S COMPLIANCE WITH U.S. REGULATIONS OF HIGH TECHNOLOGY EXPORTS

COORDINATING COMMITTEE
OF
HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

ISTVAN B GEREBEN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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4 May 1984

The Honorable Richard Perle
Assistant Secretary for International Security Policy
Department of Defense
Room 4E 838
The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Our Committee is in the process of preparing its statement concerning the extension of MFN review period for the Hungarian People's Republic to be presented before the International Trade Subcommittee of the Senate and the Trade Subcommittee of the House of Representatives in the near future.

Our previous testimonies opposing multiyear MFN for Hungary were based solely on human rights considerations. This year, we would like to include in the justification of our opposition the performance or lack of performance of the government in Hungary on the field of compliance with the restrictions and regulations placed on U.S. exports of high technology items. The Quarterly Reports of the International Trade Commission do not contain information of this type.

We respectfully request you to provide us with the facts pertaining to high technology imports by the Hungarian People's Republic from the United States.

Sincerely yours,

Istvan B Gereben

Istvan B. Gereben

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-2600

INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY POLICY

10 AUG 1984
In reply refer to
I-11549/84

Mr. Istvan B. Gereben
Executive Secretary
Coordinating Committee of Hungarian
Organizations in North America
4101 Blackpool Road
Rockville, Maryland 20853

Dear Mr. Gereben:

Thank you for your recent letter to Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle. He asked me to respond, since the question you pose falls most directly under my responsibility. You inquired into Hungarian government performance in adhering to U.S. export control laws. The information you seek is to be used in considering the extension of Most Favored Nation (MFN) status toward Hungary.

As you may be aware, MFN consideration is not the responsibility of the Department of Defense. However, we monitor the reliability of Hungarian government compliance with U.S. export control laws. Unfortunately, I cannot comment on the specific performance of any East European state, since it involves classified information. The United States, however, provides no special concessions to the Hungarian government. In addition, U.S. export control policies and procedures assume that all East European states, including Hungary, are obliged to provide technology to the Soviet Union. This transfer of U.S. controlled technology often occurs in spite of U.S. restrictions against such diversions.

I hope this limited response to your inquiry is helpful.

Sincerely,

Dr. Stephen D. Bryen
Deputy Assistant Secretary
International Economic, Trade and Security Policy

COORDINATING COMMITTEE
OF
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STATEMENTS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE PROTESTING THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF DR. GABOR DEMSZKY

Announcement - U.S. State Department's Noon Briefing December 19, 1983

Demszky Trial

We understand that Gabor Demszky, a Hungarian editor of samizdat publications, will be tried in Budapest on December 21. The charges against Mr. Demszky will reportedly be assault on a police officer, growing out of an incident that occurred in September when he was stopped for a police inspection of his car. Allegedly, Mr. Demszky refused, claiming that the police did not have a warrant, and sufferred a concussion as a result of the ensuing struggle.

We note with regret that this will be the first trial with political overtones in a decade involving the independent Hungarian intellectuals. We trust that Mr. Demszky will be afforded the opportunity to defend himself in a fair and open trial, and that this will remain an isolated incident.

CSCE NEWS RELEASE
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

U.S. Congress ● Washington, D.C. 20515
Dante B. Fascell, Chairman
Robert Dole, Co-Chairman
202/225-1901

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE December 20, 1983

FASCELL EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR HUNGARIAN DISSIDENT

Washington, D.C. Congressman Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.), Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, otherwise known as the Helsinki Commission, has expressed his concern for Gabor Demszky, a publisher of samizdat in Hungary, who will be tried on December 21 for assaulting a police officer. Chairman Fascell said, "the circumstances surrounding the trial, coming so soon after the ending of the Madrid Conference of the Helsinki signatory states, raises questions about Hungary's renewed pledge to permit citizens to know and act upon their rights. The trial has political implications unprecedented during recent years in Hungary, where dissent has generally been tolerated to a greater extent than in other Warsaw Pact states. It is hoped that Gabor Demszky will be permitted to defend himself adequately in a fair trial where the objective facts of the case will be brought out. For the trial to be otherwise would be to go against the spirit of the Helsinki process and would blemish the relatively favorable view of Hungary in the West."

The charge against Demszky stems from an incident on September 24, when police approached him outside of an apartment building where another leading dissident resides. Demszky refused to allow a search of his car without a warrant. According to reports, an ensuing argument developed into a scuffle, resulting in Demszky being so badly beaten that he was hospitalized for three days with a concussion.

A 31-year-old sociologist, Gabor Demszky is co-founder of AB: INDEPENDENT PUBLISHERS, a publishing house for samizdat, and of SZETA, an organization created to assist the poor. He and several other dissidents, who refer to themselves as the democratic opposition, have been repeated targets of harassment in a general crackdown on dissent which began in late 1982. Last December, Demszky and several others were detained for questioning as a samizdat 'Boutique,' or bookshop, was raided and official material confiscated. In March he was detained again and charged along with four others for the publication and distribution of unauthorized material (the charges were later dropped). Demzsky and another dissident were detained for questioning in April after their car was stopped and they were held at gunpoint for refusing to allow their bags to be searched.

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TRANSLATION OF THE ARTICLE:"CASUAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN SUBVERSION AND HARMING PUBLIC INTEREST, AN EMPIRICAL STUDY" BY DR LAJOS KOVACS, PROFESSOR AT THE POLICE OFFICERS COLLEGE OF HUNGARY AND PUBLISHED IN MAGYAR JOG IN HUNGARIAN, FEBRUARY 1984.

CASUAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN SUBVERSION AND HARMING THE PUBLIC INTEREST*

An Empirical Study

by

Dr. Lajos Kovacs

Professor, Police Officers College, Hungary

(Translation of excerpts)

In connection with exploring the causes behind the crimes of subversion and harming public interests it does not take any special research to be able to determine that the influence of alcohol, a capitalist environment, family and environmental influences, the disorderliness of one's living conditions, etc., all have something to do with them. Searching for causes is important mainly in the interest of prevention, as Jozsef Vigh points out: "those causes of a specific criminal act which occur in great numbers and thus constitute a mass phenomenon by themselves may at the same time also be considered to be the causes of crime."[12] Even though as far as criminal activities perpetrated against the state are concerned we cannot call this kind of crime a mass phenomenon--even if, in light of the fact that prior to 1 July 1979 the great majority of them were considered to be subversive acts, we decide to include them here--, exposing their specific causes is absolutely necessary for conducting criminal investigation, imposing punishment, preventing crime, etc. When examining the forseeable tendencies of antistate and political-type criminal activities we must, in addition to looking at the permanent tendencies, also take into account the possibility--brought about by our temporary domestic difficulties and the worsening of the international situation--that the incidents of such activities may occasionally increase.

During the past period I examined almost 420 cases, involving a total of 570 accused offenders facing criminal action on the charge of subversion and harming public interests. These con-

*MAGYAR JOG (Hungarian Law) in Hungarian February 1984 pp 126-134

stitute a significant part of the criminal proceedings that have been conducted during the past 10 years, thus they also enable us to draw appropriate conclusions. The reason why I am discussing these two criminal activities together is because many of the behaviors which before the Criminal Code came into effect had been considered subversive today are qualified as harmful to the public.

The direct motives found to be behind the cases examined because of subversion or activities harmful to the public interests were as follows:

--hostile disposition	110
--anti-public attitude	126
--hostile propaganda	98
--peer pressure and family environment	18
--existential reasons	4
--alleged or actual injuries	97
--influence of alcohol	236
--pathalogical mental condition	56
--lack of intelligence	155
--other	39
Total:	1,050

The discrepency between the 570 offenders and the 1,050 motives is to be attributed to the fact that a given activity may have had several motives, or that the offenders committed the same crime on several occasions, each time for different reasons.

As for the conditions and circumstances that have permitted or promoted these activities, we have not been able to come up with a finding for every offender. In many cases the investigation did not deal with this question, or the judgement had already gone into effect on the first degree, and hence in accordance with paragraph 221 (1) of the Criminal Code the justification contained only the facts of the case and the statutory provisions that were applied. The conditions and circumstances that have permitted or promoted these activities may be broken down as follows:

--indifference or sympathy on part of the environment	33

--lack of ideological and educational work	135
--environmental influence	36
--broken family ties	73
--earlier observers failed to recognize their responsibilities	43
--other	40
Total:	360

Belonging in the other category are such factors as problems at work, difficult financial situation, incorrect information, heat of argument, vagrant life style, etc.

In trying to determine the goals of perpetration--by looking at individual offenders--, in the case of 205 persons held responsible we have been unable to come up with an answer. In those cases where we have succeeded they have been found to include the following: A desire to be conspicuous, a need to disseminate views, wishing to protest certain measures, revenge, "criticism," a desire to cross the border illegally and to gain "distinction" for that purpose, making threats in response to alleged injuries, wishing to be transferred to a different penal institution or returned to the person's original penal institution, organizing a conspiracy, trying to obtain a discharge from military service, "just" wanting to insult someone, spreading the broadcasts of RFE, advocating Hungary's supremacy, and we could continue with a long list. Another goal which we have encountered in some cases since 1980 is to call attention to the events in Poland.

Occasionally, the perpetration has been veiled, but these cases have been the exceptions. In the case of 423 persons the crime was perpetrated openly. In other cases references have been made to the need to correct mistakes, the freedom to criticise, protecting democracy, the safeguarding of workers' rights and other circumstances. Included among these circumstances have been references to such factors as the protection of the jews, the preaching of religious precepts and the freedom to do so, the correct interpretation of historical facts, antiwar attitudes, and we could go on.

These criminal activities have also been affected, among other things, by such crime-related factors as urbanization, restratification and political disposition. By bringing about changes in the distribution of social work and in the social restratification of society and socio-economic development can temporarily reinforce certain crime-related effects. Most conspicuously, one of the things that has been causing problems for our society for a long time is the fact that more than a million people--thousands of the young--are commuting between their places of residence and work.

As Jozsef Godony has state in connection with urbanization as a crime-related factor: "One of the indisputable consequences of development and of the scientific-technological revolution is increasingly greater urbanization. An ever larger proportion of our earth's population are becoming urban residents, and the number of cities, including big cities, is constantly growing." The characteristics of urbanization in the socialist countries have been different from those in the capitalist countries. "Naturally, a significant proportion of our cities and big cities had come into existence under capitalism, hence they also bear the characteristics of that period, although to a lesser and lesser extent (e.g., certain peripheral city slums have disappeared and have been replaced by modern housing settlements)... The urbanization that has been taking place in the socialist countries has been characterized not only by the rapid growth of new, socialist cities. In every socialist country the establishment of new industrial centers has been accompanied by the concurrent birth of new and modern cities."[13]

Closely connected with urbanization has been the restratification of society. Although restratification is an objective process, under our circumstances we also cannot neglect the subjective factors. If we look at the last period we find that the most important such movement has been the flux of our agricultural population into other branches of our national economy. Since it is well known that the structure, ratio and frequency of criminal activities among our agricultural population differ from those experienced among our non-agricultural population, from the point of view of criminal trends this phenomenon deserves special attention.

In the case of 462 of the 570 offenders we could find no evidence that they had maintained ties with persons in the West, while in the case of 108 persons this could be unequivocally determined. Regarding the propaganda broadcasts of Western radio we have been able to determine the following from available documents: While the investigation of 349 persons turned up no evidence that they had been listening to the broadcasts of these radio stations, in the case of 152 offenders this could be clearly determined from the documents and in 69 other cases this was suspected, although there was no unequivocal proof to support this in the documents.

The Effect of the Family Environment

The role of the family is of special importance in the development of one's personality, and its effect is extremely significant especially during early childhood, however, since it is not limited to the development of the child's personality, examining its connection with crime can only be done properly in conjunction with other circumstances. Of the 570 offenders some 227 had lived or still live under disorderly conditions. Their parents had either been divorced and hence they were raised by foster parents, relatives or institutions, or there were other irregular circumstances.

Jozsef Vigh calls attention to the fact that a crime-affected family environment in which the parents and syblings frequently commit acts of crime tends to make antisocial disposition a natural form of behavior for the child. In addition, a significant number of offenders come from family relationships where the parents had not taken great enough care in raising the child, allowing his development to be influenced more by the effects of the given environment. In another category of families we find that although the parents did care about the education of their children, they committed serious mistakes in raising them simply because they lacked the necessary expertise.[14]

Among the persons affected in the cases examined the following irregular circumstances could be determined:

--parents divorced	87
--raised by foster parents	30
--raised by relatives	19
--raised in an institution	35
--other irregular circumstances	56
Total:	227

Occasionally, the perpetrators of these crimes have been young people who have lived under proper financial and otherwise regular conditions. This can happen especially if they are affected by foreign--Western--ideological propaganda, and they do not receive a good enough answer to the problems confronting them, and if in addition their political knowledge and scope of information is insufficient.[15]

A significant number of young offenders come not from so-called broken families but from families which live together, although under irregular conditions. This circumstance implies that the family relationship has become devoid of substance. These families pay little attention to raising and supervising their children, and they do not check how they use their free time. In many cases school education may help to shape the juvenile's personality, however, our experiences show that our present educational-instructional system can only partially live up to this task.

Cultural and Educational Level

The connection between one's cultural level and the various categories and types of criminal activities varies in character and intensity. Efforts aimed at exploring and--if possible--quantifying the relationship between cultural level and crime has been hindered by several factors. The connection between these two social phenomena is based merely on statistical probability, hence any observation about it must also be treated accordingly. The greatest problem is determining the educational and intelligence level of perpetrators of crime. Expanding this type of study to include every offender is virtually impossible, for only a complex expert analysis could provide a reliable evaluation. Hence--as an involuntary solution--most people dealing with this subject merely compare the educational level of the offenders with the criminal statistics.

The persons suspected in the cases examined had the following educational levels:

--illiterates	5
--completed grades 1 through 4 of elementary school	29
--completed grades 5 through 8 of elementary school	389
--started but have not completed secondary school	29
--completed secondary school	70
--started but have not completed their higher education	21
--have completed their higher education	27
Total:	570

Although--as I have already mentioned--only a complex expert study could provide a precise determination of one's emotional and educational level, I have nevertheless attempted to draw some conclusions about it from case studies and the psychiatric opinions contained in them regarding the manner, circumstances, etc., of perpetration. This conclusion is not exact, only approximate, and the margin of error may also be significant.

In terms of their cultural-intelligence level:

--primitive	156
--average	223
--good	75

--may be considered high	24
--was not possible to draw a conclusion	92
Total:	570

From the above data we can conclude that although the two--i.e., one's eduactional level and degree of culture--cannot be considered identical, there is a definite relationship between them as the criminal activities examined have shown, the only thing we do not know is how closely they are connected. But in comparing the two we also should not neglect to examine the actual accomplishments that are behind the data pertaining to the person's educational level. Our statistical data only show us how many have completed certain schools, but provide no information as to how well they have done in school. Nor do they give any idea about the circumstances under which their given educational levels have been attained. This notwithstanding, under our present circumstances it is the person's educational level which appears to be the best suited for examining possible connections.

In connection with our educational activities Jozsef Vigh points out that in our society students are exposed to various and often conflicting influences. If the opinions expressed in the family or among peers about human relations and society differ from the "official" view taught by our schools it may happen, as it often does, that instead of accepting the opinions professed by our schools and adapting to his social circumstances the student adopts the views held by his family and peers. Given the right situation these distorted consciousness-related factors may easily lead to the perpetration of crimes."[16]

Attitudes Toward One's Occupation and Work

In the life of a person the school is eventually replaced by the workplace as an organized microenvironmental form. Influenced by their working conditions, their relationships at work and their colleagues people become aware of their social role in society. Work if properly performed is uplifting, and it helps to promote the social development of the individual. On the other hand, loafing about without work, spending one's time idly, or having to perform poorly organized, burdensome work provide fertile ground for the development of antisocial views, and can easily lead to crime." In the present period of our social development we still often find that the assertion of the educational and awareness-forming role of work is hampered or hindered by the specific conditions under which certain persons must perform their work."[17]

If we look at the offenders of the studied cases by occupation we find that they can be broken down as follows:

--skilled workers	141

--semi-skilled worker	61
--unskilled worker	140
--white-collared worker	38
--employed	38
--self-employed	14
--retired	20
--student	64
--without occupation or dependent	48
--other or cannot be determined	16
Total:	570

The above presented data clearly show how overwhelming the number of skilled and unskilled workers is among them, amounting to nearly one-half of the offenders of the studied cases, and if we add to this the number of semi-skilled workers they well exceed one-half. This, of course, is to a great extent due to the fact that they also represent the great majority of society. Coming up with an explanation as to why it is that in our social system so many of the perpetrators of such crimes come from among the working classes, however, would require more thorough expert--mainly psychological --studies.

In addition to looking at their occupations, let us also examine their attitudes toward work:

--likes to work	122
--does his job but does not like to work	17
--his attitude toward work can be said to be average	199
--slack at his job	82
--leads a roving life style	80
--is not employed or there is no available data	70
Total:	570

I should point out that in the case of students it was their attitudes toward their studies which I chose as the basis of my categorization; in classifying the self-employed I have tried to include them in the appropriate category on the basis of available data, and as for people without an occupation and dependents, they have been included in the categories of not emoloyed, no available data or leading a roving life style, according to what the documents show.

As Andras Szabo explains, mainly from the sociological point of view: "Under socialism there is also an important relationship between crime and people's class status, hence we can say that crime is a product of society in the sense that it is a product of class existence and life style... The class origin of offenders and perpetrators is interesting and significant not from the standpoint of how their personalities relate to the criminal activities they have committed, but from the point of view of sociological analysis, in other words in terms of being able to see clearly the relationship between crime as a mass phenomenon on the one hand, and the social conditions of existence, one's position in the division of labor and the life style connected with it on the other. In this sense, therefore, it can be said thatwe are interested not in the causal relationships between acts of crime and social processes or facts, but in the social conditions which make the commission of acts of crime and social processes or facts, but in the social conditions which make the commission of acts of crime stochastically possible. According to this interpretation of our collective criminological classification and occupational data....whereby in principle we should refrain from making psychological evaluations of personality factors, and from resorting to the standard criminological practice of focusing on antisocial attitudes or on antisocial ideological views and decisions in calling something a condition or a cause, criminal statistics pertaining to occupational groups or categories should not be considered indications of antisocial behavior."[18]

The Effect of the Environment

In addition to the above, environmental factors may also be involved in the shaping of one's personality, hence they may also play a role in the commission of crimes. Friendship ties are microenvironmental collective, social relationships which play an extremely important role in the person's life and in the development of his personality. Family ties, the schools and very often also the work place are relationships that have been created independently of the individual. Friendship ties, however, are much looser, although such relationships can also only occur within certain limits. Although the selection of friends is also affected by intellectual considerations, the most important factor in making such a selection are the emotions of the individual. Also affecting the development of these relationships are circumstances such as sharing similar ideas, having the same outlook on life and struggling with identical difficulties.

Persons who share identical views and are friends often commit criminal acts together. They may team up even if they are not bound by ties of friendship, and their activities are connected only by a chance to take joint advantage of a possible opportunity. Generally speaking, the joint commission of crimes presents a greater danger to society than lone perpetration. Of the cases under examination 345 were perpetrated alone and 57 jointly, 369 were not preorganized while 33 were. This also proves that in most cases people prefer to team up to take advantage of a possible opportunity.

The influence of social ties on the development of one's personality may differ in intensity. It is possible that the kind of personality development they promote--positive or negative--is identical in its direction with the influence of the family and the school collective, but it is also possible that their effect is the opposite of those influences. The effectiveness of this influence depends on a variety of circumstances: generally, during early childhood it is the family and the school collective which have the most profound effect, while later other social relationhsips begin to have more influence. In addition, we must also recognize the fact that the intensity and strength of social ralationships may differ, which means that their influence may also vary.[19] The unfavorable personality-forming role of one's circle of friends may also assert itself during adulthood. Starting a new job, and establishing new ties of friendship often leads to criminal behavior. In this process the effect of one's circle of friends not only constitutes the condition for, but is also the cause of degradation, the distortion of personality and finally the perpetration of an act of crime.[20]

Of the sociallly recognized forms of entertainment we can also include harmful traditions as factors which contribute to the development of antisocial personalities. The close interrelationship between entertainment and hospitality and the consumption of alcohol often puts the nervous system of young people in a state which causes their learned cultured behavior to give way to instinctive behaviors aimed at finding immediate satisfaction to hteir needs. In the cases examined we have also found that a significant number of the offenders had committed their crimes under the influence of alcohol. This implies that by restricting the consumption of alcohol we could also reduce the number of crimes. But as Jozsef Vigh has pointed out: It is unlikely that in the near future we will be able to prevent alcohol consumption from rising while our state continues to increase production, and as long as our store windowes filled with a wide variety of alcoholic beverages continue to lure people to consume."[21] Other harmful traditions mentioned by the author include the cult of physical force and the tendency by people to take the law into their own hands. These, however, do not play any role worth mentioning as far as the above discussed crimes are concerned.

In connection with the way people spend their free time he also mentions the role of radio, TV and the press as factors which affect the personality. In several cases we were able to show that members of the younger generations had received occasional "tips" from these different means of mass communication.

If we examine the persons involved in the cases studied in terms of their vices we find the following: 154 of them have lived the life of an alcoholic. They are not to be confused with the people who have committed their crimes under the influence of alcohol; their number is considerably higher.

FOOTNOTES

12. Jozsef Vigh, "Thoughts on Criminology and Crime," JOGTUDOMANYI KOZLONY, 1982, No 4, p 278.

13. Jozsef Godony, "Socio-Economic Development and Crime," Economic and Legal Publishers, 1976, pp 128, 135.

14. Jozsef Vigh, "Causality, Determination and Prognosis in Criminology," Akademia Publishers, 1980, pp 114-116

15. Lajos Kovacs, "A Few Thoughts About Antistate Subversion and Its Perpetrators," BELUGYI SZEMLE, 1977, No 8, pp 56-57.

16. Jozsef Vigh, op. cit., pp 117-118.

17. Vigh and Foldvary, "Basic Criminology," Textbook Publishers, 1979, pp 175-178.

18. Andras Szabo, "Crime and Its Punishment," Gondolat Publishers, 1979, pp 392-393. "Crime, Man, Society," Economic and Legal Publishers, 1980, pp 201-202.

19. Vigh and Foldvary, op. cit., p 172.

20. Jozsef Vigh, op. cit., p 123.

21. Jozsef Vigh, op. cit., pp 122-123.

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Attachment V

to the

Statement

of

The Coordinating Committee of Hungarian
Organizations in North America

before the

Subcommittee on International Trade
of the
Committee on Finance
United States Senate

concerning

The continuation of the President's
authority to waive the Trade Act
Freedom of Emigration Provisions

TRANSLATED LYRICS OF THE "OFFENSIVE" SONGS WHICH EARNED JAIL SENTENCES FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE Cpg ROCK GROUP

TRANSLATED LYRICS OF THE "OFFENSIVE" SONGS WHICH EARNED JAIL SENTENCES FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE Cpg ROCK GROUP

A Soviet atom is also an atom
I can't stand totalitarianism
the police are hassling me
SS 20's in the East
Neutron bombs in the West

A US atom is also an atom
In the East and in the West
they fight for power everywhere
SS 20's in the East,
Neutron bombs in the West.

Power is power
In the East and in the West
The race is the same everywhere
SS 20's in the East,
Neutron bombs in the West.

FAIRY TALE LAND

Pigsty, you're just pigsty, Fairy Tale Land.
Pigsty, that's all you are.
You give off a deadly stink.
Maybe, you should be cleaned.

I'll try to put things in order,
I'll try to clean out the place.
Fairy Tale Land is very ugly!
Watch out now, Fairy Tale Land!

PRIMITIVE BUMS

We're primitive bums, we're animals,
But we don't want to shake with fear.
Remeber, we'll hit first!
Could our world really be more beautiful?

We have nothing to do with anything here.
We don't know where we'll go tomorrow.
We are terribly bored with ourselves
And we wont keep on dreaming anymore.

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EXCERPTS FROM RELIGION IN COMMUNIST LANDS' SUMMER 1984 ISSUE (VOL.12, NO 2.)

CONCERNING THE STATUS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN
HUNGARY

The Hungarian Lutheran Church and the "Theology of Diaconia" *

Dispute over the "Theology of Diaconia" – the Hungarian version of "the Church in Socialist Society"

VILMOS VAJTA

One consequence of the Second World War was to confront the East European Churches with socialist-communist ideology and its corresponding social system. A fairly brief initial period of relative tolerance in the internal life of these countries was followed by a more decisive phase when clear directives were issued. These directives affected the life of the Churches both practically and theologically.

The phrase "the Church in socialist society" is first of all simply a description of the situation generally obtaining for the Churches in Eastern Europe. In this situation the Church has to choose between two courses. The Churches seek *either* to perform their special ministry as a command of their Lord in their new context as defined by a new legislation and a new social system, *or* to interpret their new historical situation as a summons to seek their new role in the socialist State and to take their bearings within the framework determined by the socialist ideology. The first of these two alternatives may be seen as an attempt to maintain the Church's integrity and identity within the new social system, whereas the second corresponds to a deliberate identification with the new system and form of integration within it.

In the following essay, I want to illustrate the problem of "the Church in socialist society" by reference to a particular theology which has achieved a monopoly in Hungary: the so-called "theology of diaconia" (or "theology of service").

A theology of this kind, with its main emphasis on the Church's service in today's world, is certainly not a novelty to us in our present century. Immediately after the war, in the theological circles influenced by the work of Karl Barth, there was talk of the "prophetic ministry" of the Church. It is not difficult to demonstrate the influence of Karl Barth in Hungary, especially among the Reformed theologians there. The conferences of the European Churches in Nyborg Strand (Denmark) were already speaking of the "servant Church" at a very early stage. In some of its basic texts, especially in *Gaudium et Spes*, even the Second Vatican Council describes the Church as serving in the world. This is the basic

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trend. Within this trend, however, there are considerable differences. One leading Hungarian theologian, for example, sees this theology of service in his own country as having the following distinctive character:

> . . . for us, this service embraces active cooperation with the Marxists and practical participation in the development of the socialist society. It is obvious from this interpretation of service and its practical consequences that our theology of service differs from every other theological interpretation of service not only in this particular but also in its spirit and structure. To devote a separate study to the demonstration of this difference would be a useful contribution to our international ecumenical ministry.

It is helpful to have this clarification. It will enable us to steer clear of any naïve equation of the "theology of diaconia" with other currents in contemporary theology because of overlapping terminology. Even if some of its ideas can occasionally be found in Catholic writers, the "theology of diaconia" is primarily a product of Protestant theologians in Hungary. This theology is to be found both in the Reformed and in the Lutheran Church, with only a few differences of emphasis. In what follows I shall concentrate on a description of the "theology of diaconia" as advocated by representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The "theology of diaconia" has been described in countless articles over the last twenty years by the leading Lutheran bishop, Zoltán Káldy. He can therefore be accepted as a reliable witness. In his view, any Church in his country, where the social, economic and political order was developing increasingly in the direction of socialism, was faced with four possible courses: (a) hierocracy, (b) conformism, (c) retreat into the ghetto, (d) opposition. In Káldy's view, his own Church chose a fifth way, namely, that of diaconia. Substantial development of this course began only after the Hungarian revolution (1956) and the definitive removal of Bishop Ordass from office by the civil authorities (1958).* Zoltán Káldy assumed office as Ordass's successor.

"Theology of Diaconia"

When we ask what the "way of diaconia" means in substance, not surprisingly we are referred at once to the ministry of preaching and administering the sacraments, including, of course, the ministry of love (diaconia in the traditional sense). In 1964, Káldy said: "We have, however, gone beyond the previously established limits of diaconia . . . and see and

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*See the article by John Eibner, "Lajos Ordass: Prophet, Patriot or Reactionary?", in *RCL* Vol. 11 No. 2, 1983 — *Ed.*

reflect on things in the light of global standards. In our view, diaconia means increasing the prosperity of our people, promoting peace among the nations and equality among the races, and struggling against war and on behalf of peace". In other words, this is how the proclamation takes on concrete shape. Appeal is made to the example of Jesus who came "not to be ministered unto but to minister" (Matt. 20:28) — this biblical citation is also the title and epigraph of a volume of Káldy's sermons and addresses published in 1979. Christ is the *diakonos* — the servant. Accordingly, all the New Testament statements about Christ as the *diakonos* — and also the use of the verb *diakonein* (to serve) — are frequently appealed to as biblical support for this position.

The first points to be noted are the frequent appeal to christology and the focus on concrete social ethics (even in reference to the life of the disciples). The "theology of diaconia" claims to be based on christology. This supposed basis in christology, however, calls for certain comments.

(1) The basic saying of Jesus culminates in the statement: ". . . and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45). This profound redemptive dimension, this fundamental element in Christ's diaconia, plays hardly any part at all in the "theology of diaconia" presented here. One logical consequence of this, of course, is that 2 Corinthians 5:18, which speaks of the "ministry of reconciliation" and is therefore determinative for the Church's diaconia, is not referred to either. The diaconia of reconciliation is obviously irreconcilable with the ideology of the class war. This redemptive dimension is exchanged for a humanitarian extension of diaconia. This "extended diaconia", strictly speaking, stands foursquare with the social and humanitarian aims forming part of the programme of the new socialist system. With its "diaconia" thus defined, the Church can be accepted and can help in the building of the new society.

(2) It took more than a decade for the terminological limits to the idea of Christ as the *diakonos* to undergo any verbal correction by Hungarian theologians. *Diakonos* has now been complemented by *Kyrios*, the oldest title of Christ. But even this title has not been given the central significance which it has in the New Testament and in the ancient creeds of the Church. What is emphasised is not the glorified majesty of Christ as the Lord in heaven and on earth (Philippians 2:5-11) but the revelation of Christ as "the Lord who serves" — so that, once more, we are confronted with a one-sided social diaconia. In the socialist context, of course, it is not really possible to confess the *Kyrios* title in its original sense, where it is a challenge to the sole sovereignty of the Emperor and to his claim to absolute authority. Of course, the Lord was a servant! But we have no right to suppress the fact of His sovereignty over all the powers of this world.

(3) Jesus connected His service — and that of His disciples — with His sufferings. In other words, Christ's service (ministry) is in itself also a

suffering. Christ is the suffering servant of God. Since it is exclusively New Testament passages which form the background of the "theology of diaconia", it is impossible for the Old Testament passages — those concerning the servant of God in Isaiah, for example — to make their full force felt in the account of Christ the *diakonos*. The other christological titles of majesty are also left out of account. Not only the suffering Lord but even the disciple who suffers with his Lord are extraneous to this theology. The "*via crucis*" is certainly mentioned, of course, even in reference to the disciples. But the need for disciples to bear the cross of Christ is interpreted here too as the need for them to love and serve their neighbour. It is wrong, we are told, to think of cross-bearing and self-denial in individualistic terms. We are to understand them, instead, as the rejection of the desire to rule and as an affirmation of service to one's neighbour.

Consequences of this One-sidedness

In the "theology of diaconia" there is a one-sided selection of biblical passages. But even the passages selected are not given their full significance in the interpretation offered. The hermeneutic principle is always determined by a concern to see how these passages are concretely related to the contemporary context, and how they can be made to support a critique of the view of life promulgated by the Church in earlier times (prior to socialism).

Jesus criticises those who prefer to rule rather than serve; but he illustrates the attitude of domination by referring to "kings" and "those in authority" in the nations. This is His answer to the question as to which of His disciples was to be regarded as the greatest (Luke 22:24). This dimension of social criticism in the sayings of Jesus is not retained in the "theology of diaconia". This theology directs its criticism one-sidedly at the Church's past behaviour patterns. In the new socialist society, the Church is to serve instead of dominating. In Hungary, this type of "self-criticism" is directed primarily against the Catholic Church, to which constant reference is made by Protestants as a typical example of domination in cooperation with political rulers. But it is permissible to recall that criticism of such a "dominating Church" has largely ceased to have any relevance whatever today — unless, perhaps, it is an increasingly relevant criticism of a Church, which, out of loyalty to the secular rulers, today adopts an attitude of domination over ordinary church members in the interests of "serving" the powers that be!

Just as the servant Christ is contrasted with a Church hungry to rule, so too, in respect of the suffering disciple, the "theology of diaconia" criticises pietistic, individualistic behaviour patterns. Self-denial is not to be thought of as an ascetic inward-turning but as the requirement that the disciple is to serve his neighbour rather than himself. Yet when this theology insists that the Christian should turn outwards towards his neighbour, it nevertheless leaves out of the reckoning the problem of the Christian's suffering. Christian service, however, especially when it is turned outwards in this way, can encounter suffering. Humanity and the world are not just waiting for the service of the Christian. Diaconia can also call the Christian to bear his cross in his discipleship of Christ. This is however the central problem with the "theology of diaconia": it ignores the suffering of the disciple in this form. In a socialist society, when a Christian suffers, this is regarded as a self-induced suffering. If someone suffers, it is right that he should do so because of his irrational conduct in a social order which seeks what is best for him: for in a socialist society there cannot be any Christian martyrs.

One illustration of this is the problem of "outcasts" in the present social system. Even today, of course, the Church in Hungary continues to perform its traditional diaconia: the elderly, the mentally retarded, epileptics and disabled people are cared for in church institutions. But people who have experienced injustice in contemporary society cannot count on the Church's assistance. In some astonishment we ask ourselves why such assistance is not also part of the Church's "way of diaconia". Why is it that social injustices only begin outside Hungary, above all in countries towards which political sympathy is not encouraged in other respects? The universalisation of the concept of diaconia plays down problems within Hungary itself as well as in countries with which it has committed treaty obligations. It is permissible to criticise racism in South Africa and in North America; economic problems and social conditions in Latin America have top priority among Hungarian concerns. But when Hungarian troops marched into Czechoslovakia in 1968, not a single word of concern was uttered by the Church, and today conditions in Poland may not even be mentioned — as if diaconia somehow did not apply in such cases! Nor are Jews and intellectuals who have been expelled from socialist countries regarded as suitable subjects for the concrete practice of diaconia in our world today. The problem of human suffering in general is treated with almost the same disdain as the suffering of the Christian in particular — if it is encountered in one's own sphere.

This seems all the more lamentable when, even in the non-church area of life in Hungary today, there is already a far greater freedom to criticise abuses in Hungarian society. Writers and historians can speak of conditions which ought to be of vital importance precisely for the future of "social diaconia". In art, plays, films and books we find opinions and views which the Church finds it impossible to express. It can even be said that "critical solidarity", which is undoubtedly a soundly based theological attitude, is irreconcilable with a "theology of diaconia". A "critical solidarity" of this kind, which has been accepted in various cultural areas as a valid attitude in the dialogue with Marxism, could hardly hold its peace for example when people are made to suffer for their refusal to do military service in a country where peace is actually regarded as a top priority.

One conclusion seems obvious: the "theology of diaconia" is beamed primarily at church members. Its aim is to enlist their active interest in "the great questions of humanity". The decision as to what these questions are is taken not by the Church itself, nor even after consultation with the Church, but is imposed upon it. In consequence, the social problems of one's own country are inviolable. These problems, especially in the area of church-state relations, are supposed to have already been solved in an ideal way. The concordat agreed with the State in 1948 brought the then bishop, Ordass, unjustly before the courts, with the result that he spent the rest of his life under a social cloud. Despite his "rehabilitation" (legal and ecclesiastical) he was completely removed from the Church's life. Here, as in many other cases, the "theology of diaconia" follows the state pattern. "Outcasts" deservedly suffer, even if they have been "rehabilitated".

The Ideological Function of the "Theology of Diaconia"

A. Zinoviev, the expelled Soviet philosopher, writes: "As experience in the Soviet Union shows, religion can be tolerated provided it does not enter into open conflict with the state system, and is content to play a quite secondary role and to live in conformity with the laws which are communist institutions" (*The Reality of Communism*, 1981 (English edition 1984)).

At Aarhus in 1977, a consultation organised by the Lutheran World Federation discussed four possible responses for the Church in its encounter with Marxism: (a) withdrawal into a ghetto, (b) opposition, (c) conformism, (d) critical solidarity. Conformism, according to the report of this consultation, is usually found in countries where Marxism has achieved state power. The Church can then opt for a stance of ideological "non-intervention" combined with "practical cooperation". Interestingly enough, the example given for this stance was that of Hungary.

This is important from various angles. In official statements made by Hungarian church leaders it is repeatedly asserted that Marxist ideology is not to be identified with the Church's own message. On the other hand, "practical cooperation" is endorsed and, in the life of the Church, the "theology of diaconia" stakes the claim to be the correct doctrine and to have a monopoly corresponding to that of Marxist ideology in the new social order. The task assumed by the "theology of diaconia" in Hungary is that of supporting and "liberating" the Christian conscience for cooperation with state policy both domestically and internationally. One sign of this is the fact that the leading bishop of the Lutheran Church has a seat in parliament, and is also a member of the government committee for foreign policy. The justification for this is the Church's obligation to offer the State its service, its diaconia. The church leadership itself ensures that this cooperation with the State in the spirit of the "theology of diaconia" is faithfully observed in the publications and practical activities of the Church. State censorship is unnecessary, since the church leaders themselves exercise this function.

Before drawing conclusions about this role of the "Church in socialist society" as at present conceived, we shall do well to listen to what Zoltán Káldy has to say about the "way of conformism":

> Conformism means that the Church adapts itself to the social order in which it lives at any given time, identifying itself with this order and adopting its aims and ideas so as to perform its own work in accordance with these aims and ideas. The Church becomes in this case simply the servant of the world about it.

As examples of this, he quotes so-called "Christian Hungary" prior to the Second World War and the "German Christians" of the Hitler period. But has he not in fact provided here an essentially accurate description of the practical cooperation now practised with the Hungarian government on the basis of the "theology of diaconia"? Christian grounds have to be found for conformity with the current political and social context in which the Church lives. What is involved here, surely, in the final analysis, is solidarity — but without criticism; cooperation with the State in a social and political programme, in the discussion of which Christians have no right to join, and no right to share in the decision making.

This judgement finds support — certainly unintentionally — in the German version of a book written by former bishop Erny Ottlyk, *Der Weg einer Evangelischen Kirche im Sozialismus* (The Path for an Evangelical Church in Socialist Society) (Union Verlag, Berlin 1982). In his preface to this German version, Günter Wirth, the chief editor of the journal *Standpunkt*, writes: "The path for an evangelical Church in socialist society in the first place simply means the path for an evangelical Church into socialism". "The Church in a socialist society" is the definition of a situation. But the path for a Church into socialism is one of integration. This path is made easier by the "theology of diaconia" which furnishes an ideological background for this process. This is why the cooperation between State and Church can be described — at any rate in official statements by the responsible leaders on both sides — as exceptionally good and satisfactory. For a State in which, in spite of all social upheavals, the Christian tradition plays a deep-rooted role even though this State cannot possibly recognise the Church's right to exist, the "theology of diaconia" brings forth good fruits.

A Marxist Analysis of the "Theology of Diaconia"

The "theology of diaconia" has been analysed by the Marxist philosopher Jozsef Poór. His book *Századunk és a Protestantizmus* (Our Century and Protestantism) (Budapest 1981) presents some interesting findings arising from his analysis.

Poór concludes that the "theology of service or diaconia" represents a new form of Protestantism, able to accept the political solutions offered by a "scientific" (= Marxist) study of society. Far from making the acceptance of such an approach impossible, a rightly understood Christian faith as expressed in the "theology of diaconia" will incorporate it as an integral part of the faith itself. Poór's thesis may be summarised as follows: in the theology of diaconia we are confronted with a special form of religion which has reached the conclusion that the social and political system based on the theory and practice of socialism solves the real social problems of our time, and that this religion itself is therefore able to offer its own auxiliary service in the implementation of this programme. In Poór's view, this theology not only is of great interest for world Christianity but also confronts the Marxist-Leninist analysis of religion with new problems. Here he is presumably thinking of the fact that a religion which is integrated into socialism can no longer be regarded as "opium of the people", is no longer the opponent but the servant of the socialist system. The fact that theologians describe their conduct as "diaconia" and view it as christologically inspired can, from a pragmatic standpoint, be considered a matter of complete indifference.

Writing in February 1977 in the atheistic journal *Világosság* on the "theology of service", the same author says of this theology that "it gives expression to its positive social function, above all, by emphasising that support for progressive society is a criterion of rightly-understood faith." In other words, according to the "theology of diaconia", it is possible to derive from the criteria of the Christian faith itself this service in real "progressive society".

Poór stresses strongly that the concrete practical consequences of the Marxist-Leninist ideology of society are in fact affirmed by the "theology of diaconia". What distinguishes them one from the other are the theoretical arguments in Marxism-Leninism and theology respectively. The "theology of diaconia" is obviously at odds with the Marxist-Leninist methodology. Socialist theory expects, of course, the complete elimination of religious needs. But in a transitional period like the present the "theology of diaconia" can satisfy the religious needs of Christians without necessarily bringing them into conflict with the society in which they live. Maintaining its claim to a christocentric basis, the "theology of diaconia" presents an appearance of Christian autonomy. This claim to autonomy can, however, never be accepted by the "scientific method" of Marxism-Leninism.

It is instructive to supplement this analysis with statements made by the Soviet philosopher, A. Zinoviev, to whom reference has already been made. Zinoviev thinks that, in countries where the Marxist-Leninist ideology has achieved political power, one vital aspect of this ideology is its need for a machinery of ideological supervision, whereby the individual is compelled to accept the official ideology, for this ideology justifies the programme of action decided by the political leaders and it is the people that have to implement this programme.

According to Zinoviev, this ideological machinery has a fourfold task.

(a) It imparts knowledge of official doctrine and obliges people to accept it. By providing constantly progressive "actualisations", the impression is given that the doctrine is developing. In reality, however, these concrete examples can be chosen in a very random and arbitrary manner.

(b) It exercises control over all processes in the political, cultural and economic fields. Control of this kind is very familiar in history.

(c) It provides the correct interpretation of events in the political, cultural, economic, technological and industrial fields at any given moment. There is a resultant "classification" of these events. There is approval or condemnation. But the correct answer is always to hand ("In our view . . .").

(d) It compels people to cooperate actively in society. They must perform their tasks in the system. What is involved here is the enforcement of serious participation in the development of (socialist) society and not simply a superficial participation.

It would not be difficult to show how the church leadership in Hungary asserts the validity of the "theology of diaconia" in precisely the same way as the ideological machinery as described by Zinoviev asserts the Marxist-Leninist ideology in socialist society. In this sense, the "theology of diaconia" is a necessary and valuable component of the contemporary social structure, which, as we know, according to Marxist-Leninist theory, can use religion for auxiliary services. By its monopolistic control of the "theology of diaconia", the church leadership assumes tasks which match the State's ideological education. In a "period of transition" the Church can play a role, and by doing so, to some extent relieve the State of certain tasks.

The "Theology of Diaconia" in the Dialogue with Marxism

In the recent past, a new phenomenon is to be observed in the dialogue between Christians and Marxists. As Zoltán Káldy stated in 1982:

> We have often said that the dialogue between Christians and Marxists is conducted by us in practical life, that is, by our

> cooperation. This has proved correct and fruitful. We have thereby avoided the temptation of the *Kulturkampf*. Such a struggle would have set members of our family against one another, not alongside one another. Now that cooperation has stood the test, however, it becomes important to advance the Marxist-Christian dialogue by presenting some basic questions so that we may be able to achieve a broader and even more courageous cooperation.

Coming as it does from a man who to a large extent defines the policies of his own Church as well as its theology (of diaconia), this is an important statement. For many years, Káldy was opposed to any dialogue, for he thought of the real dialogue as taking place, as he says, in the form of practical cooperation. This attitude may have been due, in part, to anxiety lest the proclamation of the Gospel by the Church become mixed up with the ideology of the State. At the same time, however, the "theology of diaconia" strongly reinforced practical political cooperation with the government. It is legitimate to ask, therefore, whether the "dialogue" now initiated can produce any genuine encounter between Marxism and the Church or whether, in this new stage, the "theology of diaconia" is only to be developed still further, so as to continue to serve the State's ideological machinery. The decisive point in the above quotation is the hope that, through this dialogue, "we may be able to achieve a broader and even more courageous cooperation". The chief interest on the official church side, therefore, still seems to be the use of dialogue to strengthen practical motivation and to provide still stronger assistance to the State's social system. This is obviously also the concern of the State. The only result of a new phase of dialogue in this direction, therefore, would be the further development of the "theology of diaconia" in its essentially ideological role as an auxiliary to the state programme. It should be noted that it was J. Poór himself, the Marxist-Leninist partner in the dialogue, who recognised that this new "theology" confronted the Marxist analysis of religion with new problems. Surely, however, this ideology can be pursued intellectually only within its own philosophical limits. The practical need for the Church's approval of the State's programme is a non-negotiable axiom.

The text from which the above quotation is taken was certainly published after the initiative for the dialogue had been taken. As an official event, the initial phase took place in the presence of the President of the state Office for Religious Affairs. The "scientific" dialogue was held in Debrecen in September 1981, and, as was announced, is to be continued. According to statements published in the press, the justification for this dialogue was the claim of Christianity to be not only a faith but also a world-view. As such, it must engage as a partner in the dialogue with the

Marxist-Leninist world-view. It was also affirmed that, though essential differences existed in ideological questions, cooperation between Christians and atheists could be achieved in many new fields.

It is hardly surprising that the Marxist-Christian dialogue should concentrate on anthropological and ethical questions. Every dialogue must find a common starting point. But Christian anthropology consists precisely in a transcendental dimension which cannot be defined in purely ethical categories. Surprisingly, it is the Marxist philosopher J. Poór who is clear that here is the dividing line between Marxism and Christianity, as he demonstrates in his book. Apparently, however, the Protestant theologians did not draw attention to this particularly important dimension. This may, of course, have been due to the fact that their main concern was to find common starting points.

As long as Marxist-Christian dialogue is conducted outside the jurisdiction of a Marxist state authority, there is unlikely to be any threat to the freedom of the dialogue. But where the dialogue is conducted between partners who are dependent on a particular Marxist state, the problem assumes a different complexion. For then the changes which have taken place in the external political structure have to be recognised as axiomatic. This is the starting point. The only possible constructive opportunities for dialogue are then joint conclusions about concrete cooperation between Christians and Marxists. And here the theology of service has its state-recognised role to play: that of producing cooperation with the programme determined by the Party or the State. The Church has no influence whatever over this programme itself. (This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that the Church itself may, in the light of its own criteria, approve and promote a good many changes in socioty of a socialist nature.)

The basic question remains, however: whence are the decisive ethical norms for society to be derived? Are we thinking of a system of justice which has an absolute validity even over governments, parties and ideologies? Or are the norms merely those established by the rulers in accordance with their own interests? Are ethical norms subject to constant reinterpretation in accordance with party political interests, or do they have a validity independent of these interests? Vigorous protests have frequently been heard in theological circles in Hungary repudiating any identification of their new theological direction with the position of the "German Christians" in the Third Reich. The question does nevertheless arise: has the temptation to take a similar way really been resisted seriously? Has not a theology been developed which, in actual fact, has become an integral part of the Marxist ideological machine just as much as the theology of the German Christians accommodated itself to the Nazi ideology? To be sure, Marxism does not advance any religious claim. But there is surely a danger that the "theology of diaconia" is exercising the function of providing the Marxist social system with a Christian basis. Thereby it allows itself to be commandeered as an integral part of Marxist ideology. It is a serious question whether a theology which takes "diaconia" as its central orientation has also preserved its integrity as theology so as to be able to conduct a genuine dialogue with Marxism.

Hungarian church leaders and theologians have concentrated for many years on the "theology of diaconia" as their ecumenical contribution. Not without a certain satisfaction, they have been able to report to their compatriots that a growing interest is being taken in their approach. As a result, one of the main interests of the Marxist-Christian dialogue is in its ecumenical significance in the international arena. If this theology, tied in as it is with the Marxist programme, can demonstrate itself beyond the frontiers of Hungary as successful, an opportunity exists for the Churches to fulfil a certain mission in respect of the West.

The "theology of diaconia" is certainly one of a number of positions to which careful attention must be paid. But it is not the only one, and there are related trends in the ecumenical world with which it could become associated. As far as a fruitful dialogue is concerned, one important point needs to be made. In the free world, this "theology of diaconia" can be heard as one view among others. It will inevitably come under discussion, however, along with other points of view and the result will be mutual correction and the avoidance of one-sidedness. Theologians from Eastern Europe have often pointed out the link between Western theology and its social context. Now it is their turn to note how their own theology is dependent on its social context.

When this "theology of diaconia" is expounded at ecumenical meetings, its ideological framework very seldom impinges on the consciousness of outsiders. This inadequate understanding is not dangerous so long as this theology does not secure the ecumenical community's unqualified approval and recognition. The representatives of the "theology of diaconia" cannot then translate their ideas into practical programmes in their own country without attracting the critical observations of their ecumenical partners. The "theology of diaconia" can count on our interest so long as it is able to remain free from its monopolistic tendency and its ideological context. Only the ecumenical discussion can help it to adopt a critical stance.

One danger at the present time is the selective citation of certain Western theologians as supporters of the theology of diaconia. It is obvious only to a few of these that they are thereby supporting the concrete political programmes into which this theology is translated. The ecumenical world must be much more cautious about this function which has been thrust upon it if it wants to perform a genuinely fraternal service. In Hungary any critical analysis of the "theology of diaconia" is out of the question. The ecumenical dialogue, therefore, is of considerable potential importance, provided it is well-informed about the *Sitz im Leben* of this theology. Obviously, this dialogue needs to be able to show brotherly sympathy for any "Church in a socialist society" which is seeking the right way, but the dialogue partners need to have a thorough familiarity with the situation if they are not simply, out of a naïve feeling of "brotherhood", to continue encouraging a Church within a particular socialist society in the direction of simple conformism.

Slanders Rejected

Declaration by leading officials of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary

1. At the meeting of the Lutheran World Federation Executive Committee in the Summer of 1980 in Augsburg the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary invited the next LWF Assembly to Budapest. After a thoroughgoing discussion, the Executive Committee accepted this invitation by an overwhelming majority. This decision means that the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary — a genuine "minority church" with less than half a million members — was able to provide the first opportunity for a world-wide Christian meeting to be held in a socialist country. The government of the Hungarian People's Republic has guaranteed the granting of entry visas to all the delegates. Our Church and congregations have hereby assumed a great burden and accepted a great task [. . .]

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary hopes that the coming Assembly will make an important contribution towards deepening the fellowship of the "Lutheran world family", and towards strengthening its unity in Christ and its service for peace and justice in our world [. . .]

2. While engaged in preparing for the Assembly, we have been shocked to note that certain ecclesiastical and political circles, press media and individuals in some countries in the West are busy making difficulties for the host country and Church and trying to intensify political antagonisms between West and East and conflicts between our different social systems. This clearly goes against the task of the Church of Christ which is to build bridges in a world of conflicts and tensions, to work for understanding and mutual confidence, and to be a "peacemaker".

We are profoundly shocked by the fact that certain ecclesiastical circles in the West want to assail and slander our Church, which lives in a socialist society and tries to remain faithful to her Lord Jesus Christ; they attack and slander the theology and diaconia of our Church, her relationship to the State, her leaders, and — above all — our presiding bishop Dr Zoltán Káldy. Appealing to the Eighth Commandment of God, we condemn these slanders and insinuations and resolutely reject them

3. Thus we reject the insinuations which appeared in the [illegible] number of the periodical *Lutherische Monatshefte* from the pen of Professor Emeritus Vilmos Vajta. In his article entitled "Umstrittene Theologie der Diakonie" (Dispute over the "Theology of Diaconia") he attacks the theology of our Church as a theology of "compliance" (*Konformismus*) which — not unlike the notorious theology of the "German Christians" under Hitler — "has become a part of the ideological apparatus of Marxism". He characterises this theology as being oblivious to the "suffering of the disciples", and as having been simply foisted on the parishioners by the church leadership.

These serious charges are made by one who for the last 42 years has lived in the West, who never experienced with us the sufferings of our country under Fascism, at which time it became a battlefield, or the reconstruction of a war-ravaged land from its ruins, or the laborious efforts of his Church to find her way in a new situation, but who nonetheless believes that he is qualified to lecture to and to censure his former Church.

Our Church never travelled on the road of compliance, never took the way of the "German Christians". She is resolutely against any kind of ideological syncretism. And she never shirks suffering which is imposed on us by God. Everybody familiar with the "theology of diaconia" knows very well that it is a Christ-centred theology. Moreover, it is untrue to say that our church leaders want to foist this theology on the pastors and congregations. It is out of conviction that they follow this theological thinking, especially through their conduct.

[The rest of the article rejects as "slanderous" comments in the Western media about the conduct of Bishop Káldy, particularly with regard to his alleged efforts to win support for his candidacy for the post of President of the Lutheran World Federation, who will be chosen by the LWF Assembly in Budapest — *Ed.*]

Budapest, 22 June 1983

Dr Gyula Nagy Bishop of the Northern Diocese	Prof Dr Zoltán Fekete General Inspector of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary
Dr Dezsö Mihály Lay Inspector of the Northern Diocese	Béla Szilágyi Lay Inspector of the Southern Diocese

Dr Ágoston Karner
General Secretary of the
Evangelical Lutheran Church
in Hungary

Analysis or Slander?

ROBERT J. PATKA.

A strongly worded protest from the leadership of the Hungarian Lutheran Church has been issued in the form of a Declaration signed by Bishop Gyula Nagy and four senior ecclesiastical officials — not including the presiding Bishop Zoltán Káldy. The leadership express their shock concerning churchmen in the West who "attack and slander the theology of our Church, her relationship to the State, her leaders, and — above all — our presiding bishop Dr Zoltán Káldy". The wrath of the Hungarian Church is directed in particular against an eminent and respected theologian, the former Director of the Lutheran World Federation's Theology Department in Geneva and of the Ecumenical Institute in Strasbourg, Dr Vilmos Vajta, who has written a critical analysis of the "theology of diaconia", the official theological system of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. This theology was formulated to fill the void created by the theological stagnation experienced by the Church during the "Stalinist" era and the political upheavals connected with the 1956 Revolution. The main architect and proponent of this system is Bishop Káldy.

In my short evaluation I shall limit myself to Professor Vajta's article and its "rejection" in the above-mentioned Declaration. I shall do this in the light of the recent history of the Hungarian Lutheran Church and in the context of the development of the "theology of diaconia".

Historical Background

The Second World War created a new situation for the East European Churches. The continuation of church life was conditional on the goodwill of the new governments. The main task before the leaders of the Church was to be partners with whom new arrangements were supposed to be made.

During the early post-war period it was desirable to have a relatively undisturbed ongoing church life. Thus in Eastern Europe the only new theological orientation came through the peace movement initiated by the late Professor Josef Hromádka in Czechoslovakia. Church leaders in other East European countries had no alternative but to participate in this effort and some Western sympathisers also joined the campaign. The result was the Christian Peace Conference, as it is known. Its theological horizon was limited and it remains so to this day: to evoke and maintain Christian engagement in the Churches in close linkage with government policies.

Within a few years of World War II the situation in Hungary turned dramatically into a problem of church-state relations. Most people in the

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The Very Rev. Robert Patkai is chairman of The Lutheran Council of Great Britain.

West have failed to notice that the primary test case here was not the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty. Instead the authorities turned their attention to the smallest Protestant community, the Lutheran Church, and its leading bishop, Lajos Ordass. In the Autumn of 1948 he was sentenced by a special court for violating the country's currency laws. He spent two years in prison and was afterwards placed under a sort of "house arrest". Personal contact with him was made difficult. The leadership of the Lutheran Church was seriously weakened because of a number of suspensions, and the acting church leaders did not discuss the judgement of the special court, but officially removed Bishop Ordass from office "because he was not able to carry out his duties as a bishop and because this circumstance seriously affected the interests of the Church". A new bishop was "elected" in the person of László Dezséry. He held office until the end of October 1956. All these events have an important bearing on our understanding of the situation in the Hungarian Lutheran Church. According to official terminology, the "Stalinist" era came to an end in Hungary at this time. It is therefore also important to note that after the imprisonment of Bishop Ordass, no new theological orientation was forthcoming.

When the World Council of Churches Central Committee met in Hungary during the Summer of 1956 — that is, before the October revolution of the same year — officials of the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation (including Dr George Bell, Bishop of Chichester; Dr Franklin Clark Fry, American Church President; Bishop Hanns Lilje, Presiding Bishop of Hanover; and Dr Carl E. Lund-Quist, General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation) began negotiations with the government about the rehabilitation of Bishop Ordass. They succeeded, and the court judgement was declared invalid. It comes as no surprise to learn that the Church did the same, although Bishop Ordass was not able to return to office before the October revolution. He remained in office until Spring 1958, when the state officials declared his return illegal. From that time until his death in 1978 Bishop Ordass lived in almost complete isolation in his flat.

It is necessary to recall this background in order to understand developments in the Lutheran Church especially since 1958. While Bishop Ordass was in fact innocent of the charges upheld against him in the Stalinist era, he was not allowed the freedom to oppose cooperation with some of the discredited church leaders who had held responsible office during that period. His office was once again declared vacant and the only candidate, Zoltán Káldy, was formally elected as his successor.

No one should be surprised at the fact that the tasks facing Bishop Ordass' successor were not easy. It is, however, surprising that the new church leadership made no effort to revise its attitude to Bishop Ordass. His case remains to this day an irritating element which has hindered any sensible development in the Church. When Bishop Ordass died in 1978 his obituary was written by his successor, but it made no mention of his unjust trial and the process of his rehabilitation. These were facts which simply had to be forgotten. The whole issue was never digested either by the Church or by the State. It was played down as an isolated case, and Bishop Káldy was an eager advocate of this explanation. The truth was nevertheless that a large number of leading church personalities, amongst them professors of theology and eminent pastor-theologians, were silenced or removed to small congregations far away from their previous posts.

A New Theological Orientation

It was in this situation that a new theological orientation was elaborated by Bishop Káldy. According to the "theology of diaconia", the aim of the Lutheran Church is to offer service to humanity in a socialist society without formally adopting the tenets of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and at the same time remaining true to confessional creeds. The idea is that the Church will on the one hand avoid a ghetto-like isolation in society and on the other conform to the norms set by the State. This type of diaconia was conceived of as broader and more universal than the traditional diaconia of the Church, including political engagement in "the great questions of humanity", especially that of peace among nations.

Since the early 1960s this theology has become not only the official theology of the leaders of the Church, but also obligatory for the pastors of the Church as well. It has in fact become the only legitimate form of theological thinking. It has a monopoly, and any other theological orientation has been rendered impossible. The church press and the numerous religious publications which exist in Hungary have had to move into line with the theology of diaconia and are supervised and corrected accordingly. A remarkable effort to produce New Testament commentaries has proved no exception here.

Important though this theological phenomenon is, arising as it does in a socialist country, no particular reaction has been forthcoming from the international Lutheran or Protestant scene. It has always been representatives of the Hungarian Lutheran Church who, when abroad, have alone propagated their theological orientation. References to "service" have often been evident, giving the impression that the Church has chosen the correct theological solution in a difficult situation.

Theological Analysis

In Professor Vajta's article we have for the first time an analysis of the "theology of diaconia". He has pointed out its deficiency as far as christological foundations derived from the Bible are concerned. Obviously he is questioning Bishop Káldy's own writings (although he is not criticising the Bishop personally). He suggests that by dint of the strong authority which characterises this theology it has in fact become an ideology and therefore does not tolerate any criticism or analysis. The indisputable consequence of this "theological ideology" is that it will mainfest itself in one simple way: instead of producing christological arguments to justify its willingness to serve the world and society, as might be expected from a church "theology of diaconia", this particular theology produces a content corresponding to the political programme of the Hungarian government.

In order to illustrate the strong possibility that Vajta's analysis is correct, may I refer to an interview with József Cserháti, Roman Catholic Bishop of Pécs and Secretary of the Hungarian Episcopate: "The relationship between Church and State in Hungary is balanced, and the limits of coexistence have been established. On the basis of the freedom of religion, the State recognises the freedom of activity of the Churches and religious communities, and in return Churches accept the social targets and structure of the socialist people's society. The Church makes resolute efforts to promote the construction of the socialist people's State." And further: "The present is characterised by another stage of development: coexistence has been replaced by the state of working for each other."*

Professor Vajta also refers to a recent Marxist analysis of this "theology of diaconia". A leading Marxist philosopher and professor at the University of Debrecen, József Poór, has pointed out that though this theology has christological presuppositions, its practical consequences are in complete harmony with the "scientific Marxist-Leninist" analysis. Although the theologians might not be acceptable from the scientific perspective, their position can be tolerated temporarily because of their usefulness. This Marxist philosopher adds in all honesty that this is the first time in history that a theological system and consequently a Church (or Churches) can agree with the Marxist programme, a fact which might force Marxists to rethink some of their inherited presuppositions about religion. (József Poór, *Századunk és a Protestantizmus* (Our Century and Protestantism), Budapest 1981, pp. 166-84.)

Professor Vajta's short analytical article has caused, as we have seen, a vehement reaction from Lutheran church leaders in Hungary. In the press release entitled "Slanders rejected" it is however surprising that they give no theological answer whatsoever to the serious theological arguments advanced in the discredited article of Dr Vajta. Instead the signatories of the Declaration have chosen to question the credibility of the author who has lived outside Hungary since 1941. Moreover, they reject the parallel with the "German Christians", although Vajta's article does not say anywhere that Communist ideology and the Gospel are

**Kritika*, 21 September 1983.

mingled. Knowing how sensitively Hungarian theologians have occasionally reacted to this point, the author simply mentions that the "theology of diaconia" has found a way to arrange a theological compatibility with Marxist ideology, as German Christians in their time did with Fascism. The Hungarian Lutheran Church has turned down theological dialogue on this whole issue at a time when world Lutheranism is preparing to go to Hungary on the occasion of the Seventh World Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation.

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Senator **Danforth**. You have all spoken of Romania, and Mr. Gereben also spoke about Hungary, and Mr. Collins about China.

With respect to Romania, is it your advice to Congress that most-favored-nation status be denied Romania?

Mr. **Collins**. Yes.

Mr. **Orasel**. Yes.

Senator **Danforth**. Do you all agree to that?

Mr. **Birnbaum**. Yes.

Senator **Danforth**. And that would be your view on China also, Mr. Collins?

Mr. **Collins**. Yes; that's correct.

Senator **Danforth**. And that would be your view on Hungary, Mr. Gereben?

Mr. **Gereben**. No; we are supporting MFN status for Hungary with the yearly annual review. We would oppose a multiyear review period for Hungary. At the present time we think that MFN status for Hungary provides the United States with leverage which sometimes is used effectively.

Senator **Danforth**. But you have given up on Romania?

Mr. **Gereben**. Yes; I would.

Senator **Danforth**. So, in other words, the Jackson-Vanik has failed?

Mr. **Orasel**. Mr. Chairman, we cannot invite and accept 25 million people who want to leave Romania because they don't like communism. And at the same time provide over $50 billion to the Romanian Communist Government that they will never repay. So it is my opinion that we should enforce—the United States—the policy that the freedom, and the policy of the Romanian Communist Government to change in Romania and allow the freedom, and the people to travel, to enjoy their vacation, to have the liberty to rally the political system, party, and that way a few people, believe me, will ask to leave Romania.

Mr. **Collins**. If I could comment on your question, I think that the Jackson-Vanik amendment as it was written in regards to emigration has been a great success. I believe that it desperately needs to be amended to include human rights provisions, and that these nations would take the trade agreement more seriously if those provisions were written into the amendment.

Mr. **Hamos**. I would like to agree with Jeffrey Collins in that the Jackson-Vanik amendment should be amended to embrace more than just the right of free emigration. I don't agree that the Jackson-Vanik amendment has not worked; it simply has not been tried. The sanction provided for under Jackson-Vanik has not been ever invoked, and as a result the Romanian Government, in our view, simply doesn't take the whole process seriously. It should be tried.

Mr. **Birnbaum**. I agree with my colleagues that not only has the Jackson-Vanik amendment not failed, but even though, officially, human rights other than emigration are not, on a narrow reading, included in it, it has also had a considerable positive effect on the religious situation in Romania.

Over the years, my strong feeling, has been that though it is not necessary to shake an iron fist, at Bucharest, we have not utilized, even to a moderate extent, the leverage inherent in the Jackson-

Vanik amendment as it is in the hands of the Congress to do. I am indeed surprised that Mr. Spitzer, with his consistent failure to utilize congressional leverage, seemed to take credit for the release of four difficult cases on whose behalf I worked for years—see my testimonies 1982 and 1983.

With the policies pursued by Mr. Spitzer these unfortunate old people would still be in Romania after over 30 years of suffering.

Senator **Danforth**. Do you think that we should increase the number of Romanians who are allowed to enter the United States? It would seem to be a very bad situation if there are people who have been allowed to leave who can't leave because of us.

Mr. **Birnbaum**. Mr. Chairman, we all know of the curtailment of emigration policies by the INS in recent years. Worse, is the day this curtailment is being applied.

Maybe it is understandable that we shouldn't allow more people from Romania than from anywhere else; however, I think that we should make use of the humanitarian parole authority with much greater flexibility and much greater humanitarian thrust than we do in certain cases.

I remember a few years ago when the humanitarian parole was not used for Romania. It had been constructed for the emigration from the Soviet Union. I discussed it with Romanian desk officers for a year or two, and eventually the parole was applied to the Romanian emigration too. However, some people felt that it got somewhat out of hand, when very large numbers of people came out, including undesirable elements.

Now, we have swung to the other extreme; we have a situation where even elderly parents of people in this country cannot, except under the most extreme circumstances such as fatal illness come to this country to join their children. For example, someone was brought in on a stretcher and died a few weeks later.

I have been having discussions with the Romanian desk for a number of months now, and with the Senate Judiciary Committee, with the Helsinki Commission and with the Foreign Relations Committee about some cases of aged parents who are constantly denied access to this country to join their relatives under the humanitarian parole.

I would plead for this committee to intervene with the immigration services to devise a more flexible interpretation of the parole, for old parents, for young children, and for very sick relatives.

The Helsinki Commission has already done this, and so has Senator Charles Grassley of the Judiciary Committee, and Senator Charles Percy of Foreign Relations and other organizations with which I work. We have all addressed our appeals to make the humanitarian parole somewhat more flexible.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you.

Mr. **Collins**. If I might make one further comment, I think the whole discussion of emigration is somewhat frivolous. We need to study the reasons why people are emigrating, are wanting to leave Romania, are wanting to leave China, and to correct the problem at its source—to create such a political climate, an economic climate, a religious climate in these nations that we might create a reverse emigration, where people would be able to leave the United

States and return to their homelands and enjoy the human freedoms that they so deserve.

Senator **Danforth**. Gentlemen, thank you very much for your testimony. We very much appreciate it.

That completes the hearing.

[Whereupon, at 3:15 p.m., the hearing was concluded.]

[The following communications were included in the hearing record by order of the chairman:]

TESTIMONY BY WILLIAM C. TRIPLETT, II
DEPUTY ASSISTANT U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
OFFICE OF THE U. S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1984

Mr. Chairman --

It is a pleasure to testify before the Subcommittee in support of extension of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974. The Office of the United States Trade Representative strongly supports the President's determinations concerning extension of this authority, and in particular, the extension of the waivers permitting most-favored-nation treatment for Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. Extension of the President's general waiver authority and continuation of the specific waivers for Romania, Hungary, and China will allow the United States to expand the bilateral economic and political relationships which have been established with these countries.

At this point, let me state for the record that USTR fully endorses the views on emigration and human rights with regard to these three countries as expressed by my colleagues from the Department of State.

USTR strongly believes that the continuance of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act is necessary and desirable if the United States is to continue to develop its bilateral economic relations with Romania, Hungary and the People's Republic of China. Most-favored-nation treatment has been the cornerstone of the development of our bilateral economic relations with these three countries. At the same time, the development of our bilateral economic relations has been essential to the improvement of our bilateral political relations.

The trade agreements concluded under Section 405 of the Trade Act have allowed the United States to establish mutually beneficial commercial relationships with Romania, Hungary and China. Under these agreements trade has benefited. Significant new markets for U.S. exports have been developed.

The continued extension of most-favored-nation treatment to all three countries provides a solid foundation for continued progress in the development of our bilateral economic relations. The positive results that have been achieved with each of these countries are testimony to the importance of continuing the extension of most-favored-nation treatment.

Romania first became the recipient of most-favored-nation treatment in 1975. Since that time, U.S.-Romanian trade and economic relations have progressed and matured. Total two-way trade increased from about $450 million in 1976 to over $1 billion in 1981, before dropping to $698 million in 1983. We ascribe the drop in two-way trade to the overall effects of structural weaknesses in the Romanian economy compounded by recession in major western markets.

Romania has become eligible for and has utilized Export-Import Bank lending programs and Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits to purchase U.S. exports. Romania is also eligible for political risk insurance from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC).

Romania was an active participant in the Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN) and the U.S. and Romania concluded a satisfactory bilateral agreement. Since the conclusion of the MTN, Romania has formally adhered to most of the nontariff measure codes and international arrange negotiated during the Tokyo Round.

The extension of most-favored-nation treatment has also been a fundamental factor in the development of U.S. trade and economic relations with Hungary. Since the implementation of the U.S.-Hungarian Trade Agreement in 1978, bilateral trade and cooperation has increased significantly. Total trade turnover rose from $127 million in 1977 to $264 million in 1983 and a satisfactory balance of concessions has been maintained. Along with domestic economic reforms, Hungary has bettered working conditions for U.S. businessmen, increased access to leading industrial officials, and improved greatly the availability of economic and commercial information to the U.S. and other Western firms.

With the extension of MFN, the major impediments which previously affected the growth of U.S.-Hungarian trade have been removed. Like Romania, Hungary has become eligible for and utilized loans from the Export-Import Bank and credits from the Commodity Credit Corporation. Hungary has also received a World Bank loan package and negotiated a stand-by arrangement with the IMF.

Hungary was an active participant in the MTN and reached agreement with the U.S. on reciprocal tariff reductions and reductions in certain nontariff barriers to trade. Since the conclusion of the MTN, Hungary, like Romania, has formally adhered to many of the multilateral codes on nontariff trade barriers and the international arrangements negotiated during the Tokyo Round.

Turning to China, it is evident that significant advances in U.S.-Chinese political and economic relations have occurred since most-favored-nation treatment was extended to China in February 1980. The extension of MFN to China has contributed to a dramatic increase in bilateral trade. The PRC has become our largest nonmarket economy trading partner. While the value of total trade in 1983 declined to approximately $4.4 billion, compared to $5.1 billion in 1982, it still represents a healthy margin over the $2.3 billion figure of 1979. The value of total trade during the first quarter of 1984 increased indicating future market improvement.

In the short time since the approval and implementation of the U.S.-China Trade Agreement, the two countries have resolved outstanding claims, China has become eligible for Export-Import Bank loans, Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits, and Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) insurance. The two countries have also signed major protocols and agreements covering textile trade, taxes, grain trade, civil aviation, consular services, and industrial and technological cooperation.

In December 1982, China announced its new constitution which gave foreign investment a legal status for the first time. Negotiations for a bilateral investment agreement were begun in Beijing in June 1983. The discussions are still progressing with the next round of negotiations tentatively scheduled for September of this year. China has promising offshore oil exploration areas and talks with international oil companies, many of them U.S. based, are now underway.

Further investment and cooperation is facilitated by the U.S.-China Joint Economic Committee (JEC), the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT), and the U.S. Trade and Development Program in China (TDP). The JEC held its fourth formal session in March of 1984 in Washington. The JCCT held its first session in Beijing in May 1983 and its second session in Washington in May 1984. The TDP has encouraged joint industrial ventures by assisting in feasibility studies for various projects.

This is not to suggest that problems have not developed from time to time in our trade relations with these countries. On the contrary, we expect that as trade develops and its associated benefits grow, so will the incidence of problems. However, each of these countries has demonstrated a willingness to cooperate in resolving problems. For the most part, these have been addressed satisfactorily through the informal and formal mechanisms established under and in conjunction with the trade agreements.

For example, although bilateral trade with China has increased dramatically, increases in Chinese exports have caused some concern within certain domestic industries in the United States. We have discussed Chinese exports in potentially sensitive domestic product sectors on numerous occasions. In addition, we have established a dialogue with officials of the Chinese Embassy here in Washington, and our Embassy and Consulates have established a similar and extensive dialogue with officials in China. As a result of these efforts, the Chinese have developed a better understanding about the conditions which characterize the various product sectors in our domestic market. On the export side, our falling shipments to China -- especially of agricultural products -- are of concern to us and have been the subject of formal and informal contacts with the PRC.

Some problems remain unresolved in our trade relations with these countries. However, let me assure you that we will continue to push for resolution of these problems through existing mechanisms in a manner which is conducive to the continued development of our bilateral trade and economic relations.

In conclusion, I would reiterate that the extension of most-favored-nation treatment forms the foundation of our trade and economic relations with each of these three countries. As such, it is also an important component of our overall relations. In each instance, the decision to extend MFN treatment was based on the determination that such extension would further the intent of Section 402. In addition, it will expand commercial opportunities for U.S. exports. Failure to continue the extension of MFN would have delivered a major setback to these policy objectives, as well as the continued development of our relations with these countries. For these reasons, the Office of the United States Trade Representative strongly supports the determinations made by the President in extending his waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 and continuing the specific waivers applicable to Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China.

STATEMENT OF FRANKLIN J. VARGO
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE FOR EUROPE
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE
AUGUST 8, 1984

Mr. Chairman,

I am pleased to testify to this subcommittee today on behalf of continuation of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status for Romania and Hungary. Continuation of MFN tariff treatment for these countries will promote the objectives of Section 402 of the Trade Act regarding freedom of emigration.

Continuation of MFN status is strongly in our commercial interest, as well. Along with the U.S.-Romanian and U.S.-Hungarian Trade Agreements, which were renewed for terms of three years on August 2 and July 6, 1984 respectively, MFN is fundamental to our bilateral relations with these countries. These relations generate commercial opportunities for U.S. firms, leading to increases in exports and the creation of jobs, which contribute to a stronger U.S. economy.

With MFN our companies can compete on an equal footing with their international competitors; without MFN, the United States would likely become a supplier of last resort. Furthermore, our commercial relations not only have expanded but also have intensified, with many American firms involved in industrial cooperation and joint ventures with Romanian and Hungarian enterprises.

Additionally, MFN status has furthered the important objective of bringing these two countries more fully into the international trading system and adhering to the rules and customs of that system. MFN status also demonstrates our continuing support for the development of bilateral trade and the strengthening of our overall economic and political relations with Romania and Hungary.

The Department of Commerce monitors trade with these countries and enforces import and export regulations. When U.S. industry has been sensitive to foreign imports, and questions of market disruption and dumping have been raised, Commerce has used informal consultations and bilateral agreements in enforcing U.S. Government trade administration regulations.

It has been the experience of the Commerce Department that Romania and Hungary have heeded our laws and honored their agreements. We consider our trade relations with these countries to be of significant value and mutual benefit.

ROMANIA

MFN benefits Romania by permitting the sale in the United States of a wide range of exports which would not be competitive in this market if the sharply higher non-MFN duties were levied on them. The competitiveness of ninety percent of the goods Romania sells in the United States is positively affected by the application of MFN tariff rates. The value of Romanian exports to the United States would be lower by about fifty percent, that is between $250-$325 million at current levels, if the higher Column II tariff rates were applied.

These sales, though, generally are of types of products which compete with other foreign producers, rather than U.S. companies. Thus, Romanian sales in the United States tend to displace imports from other countries which would otherwise have taken place. Romania tends to buy from the countries to which it sells, and the added revenues Romania earns from its exports to the United States result in expanded U.S. exports to Romania and also to loan repayments by Romania. This trade is beneficial to the United States as well as to Romania.

For most years over the past decade the United States has run considerable surpluses in trade with Romania. In 1983, as in 1982, Romania enjoyed a hefty surplus ($327 million) in its trade with the United States. The surplus was due to severe curtailment of imports under Romania's austere stabilization program. Current Romanian policy prohibits the use of new credits. Both imports and debt repayments must be covered out of export earnings. The recent Romanian surpluses have been obtained almost entirely through sales of petroleum products. Other foreign suppliers, rather than domestic producers, have been displaced in the U.S. market by the Romanian export increase.

U.S.imports from Romanian began rising in 1983, growing from $347 million in 1982 to $512 million last year. In 1983, U.S. exports to Romania, at $186 million, reached their lowest point in nine years, down from $223 million in 1982.

U.S. exports to Romania began growing sharply in 1984, with the stabilization of the Romanian international financial position. During the first six months of 1984 U.S. exports to Romania were at an annual rate of $320 million, seventy-two percent higher than the 1983 full-year level of $186 million. We expect healthy growth in our exports to continue, as there is a strong Romanian preference for American goods. The U.S. market share of Romania's imports from industrial Western countries has risen from 18 percent in 1980, before the onset of debt crisis, to 39 percent in 1983.

This reflects the strong relative importance of this trading relationship to Romania. During the most recent session of the Joint American-Romanian Economic Commission in October of 1983, Commerce Secretary Baldrige and Foreign Trade Minister Pungan agreed to a bilateral trade goal of more than $1 billion in trade in 1984 and anticipated further trade growth in the future. It appears that the 1984 goal will be met.

Serious economic problems in Romania remain, however. The restructuring of world petroleum prices, the international credit squeeze, and past economic mismanagement, precipitated a liquidity crisis. Two billion dollars' worth of debt was rescheduled in 1982 and about $800 million was rescheduled last year. Romania has had hard-currency trade surpluses of over $1.5 billion during the past two years, and avoided the need for further debt relief in 1984.

In January Romania's IMF stabilization program was cancelled by agreement between the Fund and the Romanian Government. Romania did not draw the final $300 million tranche of credit. Romania faces approximately $1.4 billion due on debt during each of the next four years.

High level economic visits have continued between the two countries. Commerce Secretary Baldrige met with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and with Foreign Trade Minister Vasile Pungan in conjunction with the Ninth Session of the Joint American-Romanian Economic Commission which was held in Bucharest on October 4-7, 1983. Vice President Bush's September meetings with President Ceausescu and other Romanian leaders in Bucharest focused on economic matters.

HUNGARY

MFN provides a stable framework for U.S.-Hungarian trade development and business activity. In 1983, bilateral trade turnover reached a peak of $264 million. American exports to Hungary totalled $110 million, chiefly due to strong U.S. agricultural exports last year. U.S. imports from Hungary continued their upward trend of recent years, increasing to $154 million compared to $133 million in 1982. According to U.S. data we had a deficit of $45 million with Hungary last year. U.S. trade figures vary considerably from Hungarian figures and show approximately half the amount of American imports that offical Hungarian statistics show. This is in part due to transshipments of U.S. goods to Hungary through third countries, and in part to different trade definitions. We continue to work with the Hungarian government to reconcile this discrepancy.

Since MFN was first extended, U.S. manufactured exports have fluctuated between $50-$60 million per year. The Department of Commerce believes that this level is well below both countries' trading potential, and has been working aggressively to develop American export opportunities in Hungary.

Hungary's membership in the World Bank and IMF has eased the country's financial situation somewhat and permits a variety of new development projects to be undertaken. The Commerce Department, through our Embassy in Budapest, has disseminated information on World Bank-funded projects to American companies as it has become available. The Hungarians so far have expressed interest in American company capabilities in oil and gas development. We expect U.S. export opportunities to open in other industrial areas as well.

Rapid development of U.S.-Hungarian trade over the medium-term will be restrained by continued cautious Hungarian economic and financial policies. Hungarian trade policy will be directed at increasing hard currency exports while restraining imports. In line with this objective, capital investment will be held back so that only projects offering export potential and energy savings are being undertaken.

Our official dialogue with the Hungarian Government on trade matters has taken place principally through the U.S.-Hungarian Joint Economic and Commercial Committee (JECC), which is chaired on the U.S. side by the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Economic Policy. The annual meetings of this government-to-government body have been effective in developing new bilateral trade opportunities and resolving bilateral business disputes. We have proposed to the Hungarian side that the next meeting of the JECC take place in Budapest late this fall.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT A. CORNELL
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR TRADE AND INVESTMENT POLICY
DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF
THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE
AUGUST 8, 1984

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to represent the Treasury Department in this subcommittee's discussion of the President's determination concerning renewal of most-favored nation (MFN) tariff treatment to Romania, Hungary and the People's Republic of China. His determination is based on the belief that continued extension of MFN treatment to these three countries will continue to promote the political objectives set forward in Section 402 of the Trade Act. My colleagues from the Department of State will comment on how these objectives have been met, particularly over the last year. I will concentrate on the development of our bilateral economic relations.

However, at the outset, I would like to re-emphasize the importance this Administration attaches to waiver of the restrictions contained in section 402 of the Trade Act for another year. We feel strongly that both our foreign policy objectives and economic interests will be furthered by it. The trade agreements that the United States currently has with these countries will stay in force. This, in turn, will permit them to continue to enjoy MFN tariff treatment and access to official U.S. export credits, those provided by the Export-Import Bank and Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC).

Continued access by these countries to MFN treatment and official financing will help to preserve the benefits both we and they derive from our bilateral trade. The ability to sell their goods in the U.S. market on the same basis as other countries enables them to earn foreign exchange; this, in turn, will enhance their ability to purchase American products. The availability of official export financing from Eximbank and CCC enhances the ability of U.S. exporters to penetrate their markets by giving these countries the wherewithal to purchase U.S. goods and services that they otherwise might not be able to afford.

I would now like to comment briefly on our economic relations with Romania, Hungary and China.

ROMANIA

Romania has maintained a high degree of independence within the Eastern bloc. In order to support Romania in this effort, we have encouraged bilateral trade as well as expansion of commercial activities between our two countries since the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement entered into force in 1975. An extension of the Section 402 waiver will enable us to continue to assist the Romanians in maintaining their independence.

The United States has benefited from our generally satisfactory economic relations with Romania. In particular, Romania has been a consistent buyer of U.S. agricultural and manufactured goods and a reliable supplier of petroleum and assorted manufactured products. After the conclusion of our trade agreement with Romania in 1975, total U.S.-Romanian trade expanded three-fold, reaching a record level of over $1 billion in 1981. It dropped to $562 million in 1982, then recovered somewhat, to almost $700 million in 1983, as our imports from Romania increased almost to 1981 levels but U.S. exports declined. For the first quarter of this year, U.S. exports were up slightly over the same period in 1983; our imports from Romania more than doubled.

The precipitous decline in Romania's imports from us is part of a general decrease in Romania's imports from the non-Communist world as a whole. This is due primarily to the economic problems it has experienced in recent years and the measures the Government of Romania has taken to deal with them. The second oil shock of 1979 resulted in a rapid increase in the cost of Romania's energy imports. This came on top of a steady growth of its current account deficit from the mid-1970's due to rapid expansion of its domestic demand and neglect of its agricultural sector. To finance these deficits, the Romanians increased their external borrowing, relying heavily on short-term credits.

With its growing debt and continuing deficits, Romania encountered difficulty in meeting its hard-currency debt obligations. In part because of the financial markets' nervousness over Romania's shaky financial situation, and in part because of the fallout from Poland's debt crisis, private lending to

Romania began to dry up. Consequently, Romania developed arrears in payments of its commercial debt. This constituted a violation of one of the conditions attached to its access to financing under its three-year standby arrangement with the International Monetary Fund; consequently its right to borrow from the IMF was suspended. Moreover, the U.S. Government denied a request from the Government of Romania for Commodity Credit Corporation financing for agricultural exports and the Export-Import Bank suspended disbursement on a large direct credit to Romania.

In early 1982, Romania began to take steps to solve its financial and economic difficulties. In mid-1982, following lengthy consultations between the Romanian Government and the IMF staff, the IMF Board approved a new standby program. The Government of Romania also subsequently arranged reschedulings of its debt obligations for 1982 and 1983 with its private and government creditors, respectively. Finally, it took action in 1981 to correct its hard currency trade imbalance, mostly by suppressing domestic economic activity as well as taking direct action to cut imports. As a result, Romania has run substantial current account surpluses since 1982.

This year, Romania has enjoyed a more favorable external financial situation because of a decrease in its debt service obligations and its continued austerity program. In January it terminated its standby arrangement with the IMF and has not had to reschedule its debts again. Nevertheless, the Government of Romania has continued to keep a tight rein on the domestic economy, in the process continuing to minimize imports, including those from the United States. Its debt obligations will rise again over the next few years, as the grace periods from the 1982 and 1983 reschedulings expire, but its stated policy is not to borrow abroad and to retire its external debt by the end of the decade.

HUNGARY

Hungary has a strong interest in becoming an active participant in the international economic system. Hungary is a member of the GATT and has become a signatory to many of the MTN codes. In May, 1982, Hungary joined the IMF. Prior to and in preparation for taking that step, the Hungarian Government unified its commercial and tourist exchange rates into one partially convertible rate. Hungary subsequently joined the World Bank in July, 1982. Hungary is planning on moving toward convertibility of its currency over the next few years; it would become the first communist country to do so.

This is part of a program of market-oriented reforms begun in 1968 which has been directed at decentralizing economic activity and increasing the role of market forces in determining prices. In fact, the Hungarians have carried out the most thoroughgoing economic reforms of any of the CEMA countries. Hungarian efforts that give a major role to market prices, phase out inefficient enterprises, decentralize the economic decision-making process, and, in certain instances, expand the role of the private sector, have undoubtedly resulted in greater economic efficiency and a higher standard of living. They have also allowed much greater scope for individual initiative. Although Hungary is beset with many of the economic strains facing its Eastern European neighbors, its situation would be even more difficult, and possible solutions less promising, were the reforms not in place.

The latest steps in this effort took place in April 1984, when the central committee of the Hungarian Communist Party decided to move ahead with reforms that include greater wage differentiation, a revitalization of management, tax reform and financial decentralization, as well as further price deregulation. The object of the current phase of the reform is to create a market mechanism that will allow the government and the party to step further back from direct decision-making and to channel the economy into a more efficient mode. Unlike the steps taken earlier, the current efforts are being undertaken against a backdrop of austerity and imply reduced subsidies for transportation and perhaps a capping of social benefits.

In 1983, Hungary met some, but not all, of its major economic and financial goals. The major disappointment was that its trade surplus reached only $860 million and its current account surplus rose to only $300 million instead of the targeted $500 million. Overly buoyant domestic demand is at least partially to blame, but depressed export prices and a substantial decline in the grain harvest also kept export gains well below the Hungarians' original goal.

The disappointing outcome for the current account leaves Hungary in a difficult financial position, facing heavy debt repayments through 1986. Maturing medium- and long-term obligations jump to $1.5 billion this year and $1.6 billion in 1985, before easing slightly to $1.2 billion in 1986. Hungary is counting on covering some of these obligations with new credits from banks. Western financial markets have been favorably disposed toward Hungary in recent months.

The Government of Hungary plans to maintain its policy of slow economic growth in 1984. Thus, living standards will continue to be subordinated to the goals of eliminating the current account deficit and reducing Hungary's external debt.

The Hungarians have made minimal use of U.S. export credit and guarantee programs in the past because of their decision to rely primarily on private markets for external financing. However, we believe that continued access to U.S. Government credit and guarantee programs is important to future U.S.-Hungarian trade, because such financing can help U.S. exporters penetrate or increase their share of the Hungarian market. An extension of the existing waiver will permit the continued availability of these credits.

Since the conclusion of the U.S.-Hungarian Trade Agreement in 1978, overall bilateral trade has increased modestly, from $166 million in that year to $264 million in 1983. We expect U.S.-Hungarian trade to increase slowly but steadily in the future.

CHINA

Our overall economic relations with China have expanded significantly since February 1980, when China received most-favored-nation status. In the trade area, for example, two-way trade increased from $2.3 billion in 1979 to $5.1 billion in 1982, but declined in 1983 to $4.4 billion, primarily due to a drop in U.S. agricultural exports. Until last year, the United States maintained a merchandise trade surplus with China, but last year ran a $54.3 million deficit. Nevertheless, the United States is now China's third largest trade partner, and the outlook for bilateral trade is one of resumed growth, if at a slower pace than in the past.

While trade expansion has been an important and highly visible feature of our bilateral relations with China, other aspects of our economic relationship have flourished as well. Since 1980, the U.S. and Chinese governments have met four times under the aegis of the U.S.-China Joint Economic Committee (JEC) to review the development of our economic relations. The Committee's last meeting took place in Beijing in March. The U.S. delegation was led by Treasury Secretary Regan and the Chinese side by Finance Minister Wang Bingqian. In addition to a general review of our economic relationship and economic developments in our two countries, we had detailed discussions with the Chinese on their economic reforms and foreign investment policies, the roles of monetary and fiscal policies in macroeconomic management, and fiscal relationships between central and local governments. At the conclusion of the meeting, Secretary Regan and Minister Wang initialled a bilateral tax treaty -- which was signed by President Reagan and Premier Zhao during the President's trip to China a month later. The next meeting of the JEC will be held in Washington.

In the last few years we have signed numerous agreements with the Chinese to provide a framework within which economic ties can develop; these cover our bilateral textile trade, civil aviation operations, consular relations, grain trade, Eximbank financing, and Overseas Private Investment Corporation programs. We are also in the process of negotiating a bilateral investment agreement. Although it did no business with China last year, Eximbank has loaned or guaranteed private loans to the Bank of China totaling $126 million in support of $157 million of U.S. exports since it began operations there. The number of U.S. banks with correspondent relations with the Bank of China or with representative offices in China has expanded.

China's external financial position remains healthy. The Chinese have reported sharp reductions in their budget deficits, and, despite their continued access to more than $20 billion in Western credits, they have drawn only a fraction of them. Their total trade for 1983 was $42 billion, and they registered a hard-currency trade surplus of $2.4 billion. This contributed to China's sharp increase in foreign exchange reserve holdings -- to approximately $16 billion. Thus China is able to service its foreign debt of less than $4 billion with ease. If the Chinese continue to pursue prudent financial policies, we expect that they will be able to maintain a strong external financial position.

At the same time, China has undertaken an ambitious program of modernization and reform of its economy. An important aspect is greater reliance on market forces and use of indirect means, such as fiscal and monetary policies, to influence domestic economic activity. The Chinese are also decentralizing economic decision-making. The net effect of these measures will be to make the Chinese economy function more efficiently and, hence, promote its development.

During his visit to China in April, President Reagan reemphasized the United States' commitment to developing our economic ties with China and to assisting the Chinese in their modernization effort, to our mutual benefit. In one of his statements, he said, "The United States and China have an historic opportunity. We can expand our economic and scientific cooperation, strengthen the ties between our peoples, and take a step toward peace and a better life . . ." He singled out trade as one of the areas where the prospects for progress appeared particularly promising. Extension of the waiver authority is necessary for us to be able to realize that promise.

Conclusion

In concluding, I would like to restate the Administration's belief that renewal of the waivers will not only serve our political objectives but also promote the expansion of mutually beneficial economic ties with Romania, Hungary and China.

STATEMENT OF ROGER D. SEVERANCE
ACTING DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC
BEFORE
THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE
OF
SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION

I am pleased to submit testimony to this Committee on the continuation of MFN status for China. My remarks today will focus on developments in our commercial relations during the past year.

U.S.-PRC TRADE STATUS

Following the dramatic growth in trade which occurred between 1979 and 1981, U.S.-China trade declined slightly in 1982 as bumper Chinese harvests and China's emphasis on economic readjustment cut into U.S. exports. Trade declined even further during 1983, because of a drop in U.S. agricultural exports to China, and totalled $4.4 billion, a 20% decrease from the $5.5 billion peak reached in 1981. The decline in Chinese agricultural purchases was the result of increased Chinese production as well as a cutback in Chinese agricultural imports in response to actions taken by the U.S. against Chinese textile exports. As a result, the U.S. registered a $54.3 million deficit, its first with China since 1977. Despite the overall decrease in bilateral trade, China in 1983 was our twenty-first largest export market and ranked twenty-second among our 182 trading partners worldwide. From the Chinese perspective, however, our bilateral trade has assumed an important third place position, ranking behind only Japan and Hong Kong in the total volume of their merchandise trade.

Since 1981, the composition of U.S.-China trade has undergone a gradual evolution, with U.S. exports becoming more broad-based. U.S. non-agricultural exports now account for 75% of U.S. exports to China, up from only 45 percent in 1981. Leading exports in 1983 were logs and lumber, fertilizers, measuring and controlling instruments, and aluminum (See Table 1). Dramatic increases were also registered by exports of metalworking machinery, office machinery and computers, telecommunications equipment and electrical machinery.

Machinery and equipment exports have benefited from the President's decision to liberalize export controls on technology transfer to China. During 1983, we approved $1.2 billion worth of export licenses, and the value of China cases approved in the first six months of 1984 is 270 percent ahead of the pace set during the same period last year.

U.S. imports from China in 1983 were also dominated by non-agricultural items such as clothing, gasoline, crude petroleum and metal manufactures (See Table 2).

While U.S. trade has declined somewhat since 1981, U.S. investment in China continues to grow. U.S. companies began placing investments in China in 1980. The U.S. now leads all other foreign countries in the overall value of its investment in China. In addition, the 3M Corporation has reached an agreement with Shanghai Municipality to establish the first venture outside of China's special economic zones to be wholly owned and operated by a foreign corporation.

Status of Commercial Relations

The tenor of U.S.-China relations has changed considerably over the past year, as we have worked to resolve several issues which threatened to forestall continued economic and commercial progress. Today, these problems are largely behind us.

In August 1983, after nearly 12 months of difficult negotiations, the U.S. and China concluded a new five-year textile agreement, resolving a particularly contentious issue in U.S.-China relations. The issuance a few months later of regulations further liberalizing our controls on exports of advanced technology to China gave renewed impetus to our commercial relationship.

In the past year, through the efforts of both the chinese and the U.S. Governments, we have learned to manage our bilateral problems more effectively, and we have taken some important positive steps toward a more open and cooperative economic relationship. We believe that healthy trade and commercial ties will be critically important to the growth and stability of our overall bilateral relationship, and we are seeking to develop a framework of government to government cooperation which will open the way for expanded U.S. private sector participation in China's development.

In January, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and President Reagan signed the new Accord on Industrial and Technological Cooperation which will form the basis for expanded U.S.-China cooperation in the development of specific major projects and industry sectors in China. Three implementing Work Programs have since been signed covering the electronics/telecommunications, metallurgical and aerospace sectors. The Work Programs spell out in more detail cooperative activities to be undertaken by the parties. Under the Work Programs, the Chinese also have agreed to provide us with lists of priority projects in each sector.

A number of other agreements were signed during the second session of the Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT), which was held in Washington in May. In addition to two of the Work Programs mentioned above, the U.S. and China signed four Grant Agreements under the U.S. Trade and Development Program for feasibility studies on projects in the oil, gas and metallurgical sectors. The total value of these Grant Agreements is $1.4 million.

During the JCCT, the U.S. and China also exchanged letters on technology transfer. The letters provide for exchanges of information about U.S. export control policy and Chinese technology import policy and should help to improve technology transfer. We also agreed on the visit of a Chinese legal delegation to the U.S. in September to present a series of seminars on Chinese economic and trade law. This will be a follow-up to a Commerce Department legal delegation which presented seminars on U.S. trade law in three Chinese cities last November. And finally, we agreed on the details of a Presidential Trade Mission which has, in fact, just returned from China.

The Presidential Trade Mission, comprised of aerospace industry executives and U.S. trade officials, visited China last month for discussions with Chinese officials in the aerospace sector. The Mission signed a Work Program (mentioned above) outlining areas of U.S.-China cooperation in the aerospace industry. The group also discussed the possible sale or coproduction of large, advanced commercial aircraft, commuter planes, terminal-area landing systems and air traffic control equipment.

During his visit to China in April, President Reagan signed a new tax treaty which provides rules of taxing jurisdiction for income derived from China by a U.S. resident or derived from the U.S. by a resident of China. This eliminates the problem of double taxation, a major concern for U.S. companies considering investments in China. During the President's visit, we also signed an additional two Grant Agreements under the Trade and Development Program for feasibility studies on Chinese telecommunications projects.

The U.S. and China in 1983 began discussions on a bilateral investment agreement which would provide assurances to U.S. investors. Basic issues such as treatment of investors, expropriation and compensation, transferability of funds, and settlement of disputes are under discussion. The next and fifth round of talks is scheduled for September. Later this year, OPIC and the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and trade will cosponsor an investment mission to China by approximately 25-30 American firms.

As a result of the agreements reached during this past year, the potential for expanding American companies' role in China's economic development is perhaps greater than ever before. Recognizing this, we will be increasing the size of our Foreign Commercial Service staff in China by five officers within the coming year. This will include a commercial officer for the new U.S. Consulate in Shenyang, and will bring our staff in China to ten commercial officers.

The numerous government to government exchanges, the successful JCCT meeting and the Presidential Trade Mission, and the agreement and Work Programs signed during the past year have helped place U.S.-China relations on a firm footing and have created new opportunities to expand our economic relations. Mr. Chairman, the continuation of MFN status remains an essential part of our economic and commercial relationship with China.

DANTE B. FASCELL
CHAIRMAN

ROBERT DOLE
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TESTIMONY SUBMITTED TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
FINANCE COMMITTEE
U.S. SENATE
BY DANTE B. FASCELL, CHAIRMAN
U.S. (HELSINKI) COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

As Chairman of the U.S. (Helsinki) Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I am grateful to Chairman Danforth for this opportunity to submit remarks regarding the renewal of Most-Favored-Nation status to Hungary and Romania. During the annual MFN review, the human rights goals of the Helsinki process dovetail with the humanitarian objectives of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment (Section 402) of the 1974 Trade Act. The Helsinki accords, to which Hungary and Romania are signatory, link the development of international trade to the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms just as the Jackson-Vanik Amendment conditions granting Most-Favored-Nation status on emigration performance.

Judicious application of the Jackson-Vanik instrument over the years has led the Hungarian and Romanian governments to the reunification of families, easement of the plight of human rights activists and improvements, albeit limited, in the way some segments of the population are treated. The yearly MFN review continues to be an effective means of holding Hungary and Romania publicly accountable for their emigration and human rights records. MFN hearings are held only once a year, but congressional concern about human rights in these countries is year-round. Today's hearings emphasize the important role Congress continues to play in the bilateral decision-making process with regard to both Hungary and Romania.

Today, in keeping with the letter of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, I would like to share my views on the emigration records of Hungary and Romania. However, I believe that the spirit of the legislation embraces wider human rights considerations. Therefore I will also touch upon broader human rights topics, such as the freedoms of conscience, expression and association, religious liberty and minority rights.

I turn first to Hungary. I am extremely pleased to report that Hungary has kept a clean slate in regard to family reunification cases involving the United States. The number of cases at any particular time between our two countries has never been high, but the Hungarian authorities' resolution early last year of all outstanding cases is unprecedented. Despite this encouraging performance, it must be remembered that Hungary's emigration laws remain restrictive, even as compared to other East Bloc countries. For example, 55 is the age at which emigration is legal and permission can be denied if found to be contrary to the nebulously-defined public interest. Thus, while the current situation is highly favorable, the possibility of problem cases arising in the future still exists. With respect to human rights, again Hungary's practices are relatively good, but there has been demonstrable cause for concern. Since December 1982, Hungarian citizens engaged in unofficial publishing and other dissident activities have been victims of government harassment in the form of apartment searches, short-term detention for questioning, police reprimands, fines, and, for one unofficial publisher, trial.

In sum, Hungary's comparatively good record merits the awarding of MFN for another years' time. Reviewing Hungary's performance on an annual basis permits the United States to respond effectively when human rights problems arise.

Next, Romania. Romania's emigration record continues to be mixed and its human rights record poor. Romania has highly restrictive emigration laws, regulations and practices. In theory the Romanian Government recognizes family reunification as a legitimate reason for emigration, and does permit, on the basis of a case by case review, emigration on humanitarian grounds. In reality, however, there is strong official opposition to any kind of emigration. Nonetheless, increasing numbers of Romanian citizens, especially people whose departure represents no economic loss to the country, who are persistent and who enjoy support in the West, do manage to secure exit permission.

Just before President Reagan was to terminate Romania's MFN status due to the egregious "education tax" last year, President Ceausescu offered him assurances that the "education tax" would cease to apply and that "no economic or procedural barriers to emigration will be created." Largely on the basis of this presidential understanding, Romania received MFN renewal in 1983. Since that time, President Ceausescu has kept only part of his word to President Reagan. The condemnable "education tax" has not been levied, but other obstacles to emigration persist. Before leaving the country, virtually all successful emigrants -- whether their destination is the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel or another Western country -- have had to scale countless bureaucratic roadblocks and endure months if not years of government harassment and intimidation, including job demotions or dismissals, evictions from apartments, expulsions from schools or universities, and confiscation of ID and ration cards. Furthermore, scores of cases in which the United States and other governments have officially expressed a longstanding interest remain unresolved.

Within this difficult context, however, the State Department reports that emigration from Romania to all countries has more than doubled and emigration to the United States has increased almost ninefold since 1974, the first year that MFN was granted to Romania. In 1983, emigration to the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany was the highest ever. Monthly totals for the first half of 1984 indicate that these high levels are being sustained. With respect to Romanian Jewish emigration trends, departures to Israel steadily declined from the 2000 permitted in 1975 (the first year that MFN was awarded to Romania) through 1979; emigration hovered around the 1000 per year mark in 1980-81, then began to rise in 1982-83. Regrettably, in 1983 Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel was somewhat less than in 1982. But, if the average monthly level to Israel thus far attained in 1984 is at least sustained through December -- and I urge the Romanian Government to see that it is -- then the Jewish emigration total this year will be back to the 2000 mark.

Four times a year, the Helsinki Commission presents lengthy caselists to Romanian officials. The lists contain family visit, family reunification, marriage, dual national and other human contacts cases, which have been brought directly to the Commission's attention by Members of Congress, non-governmental organizations, families and individuals. Before these cases are submitted to the Romanian Government, their merits are thoroughly checked by consular officials at the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest. Under the Helsinki Accords, Romania is obliged to deal with such cases "in a positive and humanitarian spirit." It may be useful to the Subcommittee to know how the Helsinki Commission cases have been faring: The Commission's June 1983 list contained 317 cases roughly representing 1200 individuals (a case usually consists of a head of family plus dependents). After one year, 114 (35.9%) cases have been resolved, i.e. the people left Romania, and 53 (16.7%) more have received approval from the Romanian Government to depart. The Commission asked that 48 of the cases on the June 1983 list receive special consideration. Of these, 13 (27%) have since been resolved and 5 (10.4%) have been approved for departure. The Commission's current caselist contains 325 cases, among them 45 which merit special consideration. The Commission staff finds that in the past twelve-month period, the resolution and approval rates of cases have been faster than in the past. Furthermore, for the second year in a row, we are encouraged by the fact that we do not see a disturbing fluctuation in the number of resolutions and approvals (higher during the months coinciding with the annual MFN review in Congress and unacceptably lower during the rest of the year -- a tendency that Congress had cause to criticize in the past.

These statistics indicate that the Romanian Government has shown responsiveness to the Helsinki Commission lists and we would hope and expect this to continue. In particular, we would want to see the expeditious resolution of the cases meriting special consideration.

Although Romania's foreign policy stance on a number of issues may differ from that of other Warsaw Pact states, internally, conditions remain repressive. As a function of its divergent foreign policy, Romania is nevertheless willing to discuss human rights issues with the U.S and other governments.

During the past year, the Helsinki Commission has raised, inter-alia, the following issues of humanitarian concern with Romanian offcials:

1) The continuing stringent restrictions on religious liberty and the harsh treatment of activist Christians, particularly dissenting Baptist pastors. On the very eve of these hearings, the Commission learned that Baptist pastors Beni Cocar and Ion Steff are to be called into court in the city of Medias for preaching without necessary permits. Reportedly, however, the Romanian Government has made limited progress in the area of religious freedom for Baptists who are willing to accept greater circumscription by the state of their activities. For the first time in seven years, in April 1984, the Baptist Union was allowed to hold its national congress and evidently permission has been given for the construction of a number of new churches. Also, there are indications, yet to be confirmed, that a larger number of seminarians will be permitted to matriculate beginning this fall.
2) The continued banning of the Eastern Rite Catholic or Uniate Church, despite its repeated appeals for legal reinstatement and a new provision agreed at the Madrid Conference of Helsinki signatory countries regarding the legal registration of religious institutions prepared to operate within the constitutional framework of the state.
3) The imprisonment since 1979 of Father Gheorghe Calciu, a dissident Orthodox priest and the death under highly questionable circumstances in early 1984 of Father Geza Palfi, a vocal Roman Catholic priest of Hungarian nationality.
4) Insensitivity to the cultural and educational needs of Romania's extensive Hungarian and German minorities and persecution of Hungarian minority rights advocates.
5) The complaint still pending before the International Labor Organization with respect to Romania's suppression of the S.L.O.M.R. free trade union in 1979.
6) The publication in late 1983 and early 1984 by government-supervised publishing houses of anti-Semitic literature, involving ad hominem attacks against Chief Rabbi Rosen. The Romanian Government has taken steps to distance itself from these publications and reprimand those responsible. But, Romania took similar action in 1980-81, when anti-Semitic material appeared, only to permit the problems to recur a few years later.

A positive development has been the holding here in Washington in February 1984 of the second U.S.-Romania Human Rights Roundtable. The first such Roundtable took place in Bucharest in 1980. Roundtables are a voluntary spin-off forum of the Helsinki process and to date only the United States and Romania have engaged in them. As was the case in 1980, Helsinki Commission representatives served on the U.S. Roundtable Delegation headed by Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Elliott Abrams. The 1984 Roundtable discussions were frank and covered the gamut of contentious topics relating to Romania's human rights performance.

To sum up, since this time last year, emigration from Romania has increased, but the emigration process remains cumbersome and callous. Overall human rights conditions remain bleak. Romania's poor human rights record makes renewal of Romania's MFN status every year no easy matter to decide, either for the President or for Congress. Renewing MFN by no means signifies that the President or Congress have given the Romanian Government's emigration and human rights practices their unqualified seal of approval. Nothing could be farther from the case. Every time MFN for Romania has come up for renewal, the difficult decison to permit another years' extension has rested on the calculation that humanitarian aims would better be served by granting MFN than by its denial.

The Helsinki Commission does not expect progress to be made overnight, but we will hold Romania accountable for the humanitarian commitments it has made to other governments and to its own people. To this end, we call upon Romania to release Father Calciu and other prisoners of conscience; to authorize the construction of more churches, the matriculation of more seminarians, the importation and dissemination of more Bibles, the legalization of the Uniate Church; to drop the charges against Pastors Cocar and Steff and allow them to preach; to show sensitivity to the cultural and education needs of national minorities and cease the harassment of minority rights activists; to resolve family reunification and other human contacts cases in which the United States has expressed a longstanding interest; and otherwise to permit Romanian citizens freely "to know and act upon" their rights as set forth in the Helsinki and other international agreements.

I thank Chairman Danforth and the Subcommittee once again for the opportunity to express my views as Chairman of the Helsinki Commission on human rights conditions in Hungary and Romania. My fellow Commissioners and I will continue to pursue these abiding human rights concerns both in Congress and within the Helsinki framework.

A GenCorp Company
GENERAL TIRE INTERNATIONAL COMPANY
AKRON, OHIO 44329

R. C. MEGARGEL
PRESIDENT
(216) 798-2650

July 31, 1984

The Honorable John Danforth
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Danforth:

It is the purpose of this letter to express the continuing support of this corporation for continuation of MFN status for Romania. Ongoing business relations with that country make such continuation a matter of interest and concern for us.

I would appreciate your subcommittee taking this expression of support into account during your hearings on this subject on August 8.

Very truly yours,

R. C. Megargel

R. C. Megargel

RCM:cav

WJS MOODY INTERNATIONAL CORP.

70701 BUCHAREST, ROMANIA • STR. C. MILLE 16 • TEL. 12-62-12 OR 13-90-78 • TELEX: 11603 • CABLE: FINDYROM
6731 CURRAN STREET • McLEAN, VIRGINIA 22101 • (703) 448-0600 • TELEX: 64749 WJSDC UW

August 7, 1984

Senator John Danforth
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Danforth:

Enclosed herewith is the written testimony of Mr. Ilya LeKuch, Senior Vice President of WJS Moody International Corporation, regarding the extension of Most Favored Nation Status for Romania. We have enclosed this testimony in triplicate for inclusion in the record.

Mr. LeKuch is in Europe on business and therefore is unable to attend the hearing scheduled on August 8, 1984. We heartily endorse extension of MFN status for Romania, and herewith make our feeling known for the record.

Sincerely yours,

Jeanne M. Arenella

Jeanne M. Arenella
Assistant to Ilya LeKuch
Senior Vice President

:jma

Enclosures

TESTIMONY OF ILYA LEKUCH

Good day. I am Ilya LeKuch, Senior Vice President of WJS/Moody International Corporation.

WJS/Moody International is an accredited American export and import representative organization maintaining a full time operational office in Bucharest, Romania with four employees. We first started to conduct business in Romania in 1965. We have also been active in the People's Republic of China since 1972.

My remarks today are directed towards extending the Most Favored Nation Status waiver for Romania. I also support an extension for China and Hungary as well.

In Romania, WJS/Moody International Corporation represents the interests of over 20 American companies. We promote the sale of their equipment and technology to various end-users in Romania. We also purchase, from Romania, electronic components, oil field equipment and other products.

Over the past six years, starting January 1, 1979, I have personally spent approximately 30 months in Romania negotiating business transactions between our company and various Romanian Foreign Trade Organizations.

In 1982 Romania was faced with a very difficult economic situation and because of that our exports to Romania in 1982 have decreased in comparison to 1980 and 1981. In 1982 the Romanian government has made the necessary adjustments in their economic policies, increased their marketing activities in the U.S. in order to earn more dollars to pay for equipment, spare parts and raw materials which they desperately need to keep their economy going. Romanian policies have worked and in a relatively short period of time (1.5 years), we are already seeing increases in our export sales to Romania in comparison with 1982.

Nevertheless, most of the contracts today between American companies and Romanian Foreign Trade Organizations have a stipulation of counter-purchase obligation. Under these circumstances the failure to extend Most Favored Nation Status for Romania would have a significant negative impact on the overall trade between the United States and the Socialist Republic of Romania because it would result in higher tariffs for Romanian goods.

I sincerely believe that Romania wishes to purchase goods from the United States. They trust American equipment and technology. The Romanian people are very friendly to all Americans, and Romanian officials in the business and political sectors in Romania refer to Americans as long term friends. I personally made many friends in Romania from every walk of life; doctors, engineers, workers. Many of them I can truly call my friends.

World peace and stability are other important factors which justify the extension of Most Favored Nation Status for Romania. Romania plays a significant role as a world mediator and I believe conducts a foreign policy independent of other Eastern European Bloc countries.

WJS/Moody International is presently discussing many large long-term projects in Romania and together with several Romanian enterprises we are involved in large scale projects in third countries. We feel that many of these projects will come to a successful conclusion but their success will depend on Romania having Most Favored Nation Status and the ability to sell some selected products in the U.S. market.

Thank you very much.

For Entry in the Congressional Record

STATEMENT OF ILDIKO TRIEN
UNITED STATES SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
REGARDING ROMANIA'S MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS

In testifying in support of the continuation of Romania's Most-Favored-Nation Status, I feel like the spokesman of the millions of Americans who cheered and acclaimed the Romanian athletes' entrance into the Olympic stadium last week. Romania deserves our support.

Romania is a relatively small nation, sensitive to the reality of its undesirable geographic position. In Eastern Europe there is a saying that "when the elephant sleeps next to you, you will feel his breathing." Even though the elephant is restless now, Romania stood up for itself and acted for its conscience, values and ethics. Romania's presence at the Olympics is the result of a decade of work to develop good relations and understanding between the United States and Romania.

Despite hard economic times, Romania has been paying its debts to western banks. To do so, it has imposed austere programs internally to help generate hard currency. The pressure from Russia on Romania has had and will continue to have significant economic consequences. By joining in the Olympics, Romania again proved the independent aspirations of this small, but proud nation. The world knows that Romania will not be rewarded by the Russians for participating in the Olympics.

There are still many problems that have to be resolved, ranging from human rights to economic survival, but these are not problems unique to that country. America can help Romania to overcome past mistakes by continuing the improvement of relations.

The events of the last few months have proved the usefulness of our trade agreements in affecting Romania's domestic and international conduct.

ROBERT R. NATHAN
ASSOCIATES, INC.

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August 17, 1984

Written Statement of Maurice D.Atkin,
Consultant to Chilewich Corporation,
Regarding the Continuation of the President's Authority to
Waive the Freedom of Emigration Provisions of the Trade Act of 1984
Presented to the Senate Committee on Finance,
Subcommittee on International Trade

My name is Maurice D. Atkin. I am a senior consultant with Robert R. Nathan Associates, a firm of consulting economists. I have represented the Chilewich Corporation in Washington for over 20 years. In the past I have testified on behalf of the Chilewich Corporation in support of Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania, and am pleased to again have this opportunity to testify on this subject. I support the extension of Most-Favored-Nation trade status to Romania based on the economic and political benefits of free trade with Romania.

The Chilewich Corporation is a large international trading company. An important line of their business is exporting cattle hides, the raw material for leather. In 1983, Romania was the fourth largest importer of U.S. cattle hides, after Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. During 1983, the United States exported over 1,300,000 hides to Romania at a value of over $40 million, which represents 6.2 percent of total U.S. exports of cattle hides. This was a significant increase over 1982 exports to Romania of approximately 900,000 hides.

These exports to Romania constitute a significant contribution to the American cattle and beef industries by providing a market for a by-product generated in excess of domestic demand. These additional revenues are important to American agriculture, in particular the beef and cattle and supporting industries.

The general level of all U.S. exports to Romania was down in 1983 to $186 million. The first quarter of 1984 however shows a strong increase in exports to Romania over the first quarter of 1983. Exports through March to Romania this year are valued at $68 million, as compared to exports through March of 1983 of $52 million. Excluding the Soviet Union, Romania constituted the second largest East European market for U.S. exports in 1983 (Poland was the largest). While this is not a large portion of total U.S. trade, it does indicate relatively stronger ties with Romania than with most other East European Countries.

Other major exports to Romania include grains and seeds (especially soybeans), coal, electric machinery, and chemicals. Soybeans, cattle hides, and coal account for over half of U.S. exports to Romania.

The United States also imports a variety of goods from Romania. The most important imports are petroleum products, iron and steel products, clothing, and footwear. In 1983 U.S. imports from Romania were valued at $553 million. The U.S. imported more goods from Romania in 1983 than from any other East European country, including the Soviet Union.

The prominence of Romania in the United States Eastern European trading market was spurred by the signing of a United States-Romanian trade agreement in 1975, which accorded Most-Favored-Nation tariff treatment to Romania and facilitated commercial exchanges. Although there have been a series of other economic agreements and protocols with Romania over the past decade, Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania has been a critical ingredient in the United States-Romanian trade picture.

United States-Romanian trade is expected to increase significantly in the future. The 1984 Romanian National Economic plan calls for a 13.8 percent increase in total international trade. Exports are expected to grow by 20 percent and imports are expected to grow somewhat more slowly.

International trade is a basic foundation of economic prosperity. Exports provide jobs for many in areas where domestic demand alone would justify much lower levels of production, thus employment.

Exports also provide foreign exchange for imports. Imports provide America with goods not easily or cheaply produced here, and help keep prices down thus lowering the inflation rate. American-Romanian trade is heavily dependent upon the existance of Most-Favored-Nation status. Renewing this valuable legislation will ensure that both Romania and the U.S. will continue to reap the benefits of this trade. The Chilewich Corporation, cattle farmers, and other exporters, all stand to gain by the renewal of Most-Favored-Nation status.

These are the economic factors which support the extension of international trade with Romania. MostFavored-Nation status is the foundation for this trade. On behalf of the Chilewich Corporation and myself, I strongly recommend the extension of the Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania.

"Honour to those Freedom Fighters who gave their lives fighting Communism"

ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION,Inc,
(A NOT FOR PROFIT PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATION)
104-55 107th St.,Ozone Park,New York,N.Y.11417

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:

Honorary President
CORNEL H.PETRASSEVICH,M.D.

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Vice-President
Dr.DUMITRU MOLDOVAN

Secretary-Treasurer
VIOREL CHIRILA,B.Sc.

Censor
Mrs.NANCY RADIAN

Censor
Mrs.EMMA EMILIA BRATU

August 17,1984

Hon.Roderick A.DeArment,
Chief Counsel,COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
Room SD-219,Dirksen Senate Office Building,
Washington,D.C.20510

DEAR SIR:

On behalf of the "Romanian National Committee of Liberation,Inc.",I send my written STATEMENT of refusal of the M.F.N.treatment to the Socialist Republic of Romania,for justified reasons,in order to be included in the material of the printed record of the hearing which had place during this month,when I could not attend.
Please,let it be printed into the volume for the use of the UNITED STATES SENATE- COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

Very truly yours,
Dr.Alexandru Bratu
Dr.Alexandru Bratu

Enclosing are also 5 copies of my Statement.

"Honour to those Freedom Fighters who gave their lives fighting Communism"

ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION,Inc,
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Censor
Mrs.NANCY RADIAN

Censor
Mrs.EMMA EMILIA BRATU

August 17,1984

UNITED STATES SENATE ,COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
Subcommittee on International Trade,
SD-219,Dirksen Senate Office Building,
Attn.Hon.RODERICK A.DEARMENT,Chief Counsel,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

STATEMENT

of Dr.Alexandru Bratu,Ph.D. in Law and Economics;
-President of the "Romanian National Committee of Liberation,Inc
-Coordinator ofInternational Affairs of the "World Anti-Communist Action Front" (WACAF);
-Member in the Executive Board of "Captive Nations Committee,Inc
-Active member of "New York Academy of Sciences";
-Playwright,member of ASCAP -"American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers ".

HONORABLE CHAIRMAN,AND DISTIGISHED MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

The "Romanian National Committee of Liberation,Inc."is a Not For Profit patriotic organization,whose purposes are as follows:
-to show the real truth about Romania,promoting the ethnic values of Romanian people all over the world;
-to promote the spiritual and historic heritage of the Romanian descendants,and to defend it against the outrageous interferences of pernicious actions;
-to struggle for the Human Rights of the Romanian people,disclosing the abuses of the communist totalitarian rule in Romania after March 6,1945;
-to affirm the right of the Romanian people to elect a free democratic government to rule their native country;
-to claim the right to self determination of the Romanians from Bessarabia,Northern Bucovina and Hertza county,forcibly annexed by U.S.S.R. in June 26,1940;
-To cooperate with the organizations of Captive Nations and other anti-communist organizations,and democratic governments of other countries who help promote the aims of the Romanians anti-totalitarian freedom fighters;
-to defend the historical Romanian territories,and to liberate Romania from the totalitarian communist system.-

Generally speaking the Romanian people wants freedom of speech, freedom of worship,freedom from fear and freedom from want.

The Western European countries and United States of America must understand that the Yalta agreement from 1945 caused the most terrible injustice to the Eastern and Central European countries ,and especially to Romania by exposing them to Soviet barbarism,exerted in each country by the communist party's chiefs who are constant obedient subservients to the Kremlin chiefs.For years,the Western countries hoped to detach Romania from the Soviet Block by encouraging its so called independent foreign policy,but this really means -food shortage,energy shortage,endless queues,and lack of almost everything.

As a Romanian born,in spite of my 13 years of political prison, and 7 years of forced residence,for my anti-communist opinions, I would never do anything to harm the interets of th Romanian pepple,but I urge you th think about the implications of the decision to continue the preferential treatment of M.F.N. to Romanian Communist Government.Obviously,the Soviet Union is the most profitable of the so called "independence" of Romania,and surelly the U.S.S.R. has not abandoned the idea of using the Bucarest diplomacy for future international puposes of the international"movement of peace",and economic espionage.

The very large loans which have been made by the United States and Western banks to Romania and other communist countries,did not stabilize the conditions of life in the satelite countries. Only the communist oligarchs of the Satelite countries and the Soviet Union Empire are the real profiteers,in order to conquer the entire world by-external encirclement,internal demoralization and thermonuclear blackmail.-

From a rich country of another time,Romania of today became a country of hunger and sadness.The fact that some Romanian athletes participated in the 23-rd Olympiad cannot be a sufficient argument to conclure to the independence of the Romanian Communist Government from the Soviet Union.

If communist President of Romania -Niculae Ceausescu-is really independent from Soviet Union,why he doesn't want to leave the nilitary Pact of Varsovia ?

For these reasons,the "Romanian National Committee of Liberation" ask for that the "Most Favored Nation" treatment to the Socialist Republic of Romania to be abolished ,or in any case must be at least conditioned by the respect of the elementary Human Rights, as follows:

-to permit the Free Unions of Romanian workers and intelectuals;
-to release the political prisoners from prison,from mental hospitals ,or from forced labor camps;
-to permit the worship of the Romanian Catholic Church of Byzantine Rite,which is interdicted since December 1,1948;
-to stop the cruel exploitation of the Romanian workers in agriculture and industry;
-to accept the free association and activity to other political democratic parties,not only for those of the Communist Party:
-to take into the amount of retirement plan as "years served into work's field",or "in the pension's plans of widowed wives or orphaned chidren" (2nd case of decease)-the years served by polical prisoners,and by prisoners of conscience,in jails,forced labor camps,psychiatric hospitals,and forced residence;
-to permit the families reunification and free communication of

Romanians with other countries,without discrimination between the communist party's members and the Romanian opponents .

All these minimum conditions to restore the Human Rights in Romania must be under the permanent control of the United Nations Organisation.

In order to show that the Communist Government of Romania is in a continuous violation of the Helsinki Pact from 1975,I am citing only some of cases about the disrespect of the elementary Human Rights in Romania today:

1.-Rev.Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa,a former political prisoner for 16 years in Pitesti and Gherla -1948-1964-was fired on May 17,1978,because he deplored the demolition of "Enei Church" from Bucuresti,and "Domneasca Church" from Focsani,and in 1979 he was convicted to 10 years of prison for "propaganda against socialist order",because during a sermon about atheism and Faith,he named the "materialism system" as a "Philosophy of Despondency".

2.-Marinescu Ilie,a medical assistant and judo trainer,born on July 02,1939,with his minor children -Mircea Marinescu ,born on November 18,1968,and Gabriela-Cristina Marinescu,born on Nov.7, 1969,all residing in Bucuresti-Romania,Calea Grivitei No.101, since 1979 did not obtain the proper forms for passports to leave Romania,because he refused to become an informer of the Securitate Police,and Militia Police.

3.Gheorghe Panoiu,43 years old,residing at Strada Nucilor,Bloc 1, Sc.2,Apt.16,in Bocsa 2,District Caras-Severin,Romania and his brother Constantin Panoiu,31 years old,residing in Turnu Severin, Blvd.Tudor Vladimirescu Bloc 2 S,Sc.3,Etaj 2,Apt.12,District of Mehedinti,both having their own families with children,could not obtain the proper forms for passports only for them to pay a visit to their brother Dumitru Panoiu,American citisen,who invited them paying all expenses and transportation + shelter for three months,and did not see them since 1974.

4.-Eng.Constantin Sobaru,a specialist in Aeronautics and a former assistant professor at Polytechnic University of Bucuresti,born on 06-07-1950,with his wife Mihaela Sobaru,28 age,an accountant, and their son Francisc Sobaru,4 years old,all residing in Bucuresti,Str.Dionisie Lupu,No.65,70183 Bucharest,Romania,did not yet receive the proper forms for passports since 1982,when they obtained the entrance visas in the United States being sponsored by Mrs.Astrid Greenville,an American citisen,residing at 132 Nichols Rd.,Nesconset,New York 11767,who is the sister of his mother Mrs.Ismina Sobaru.They obtained only many refusals of the proper applications,in the same time being expelled from their jobs,being considered "enemies of the people".

In CONCLUSION,we strongly express our hopes that the U.S.Congress will take in consideration that Communism is a cause,not a cure of discrimination,poverty,and oppression.The Most Favored Nations Clause cannot be granted unconditionally to a tyrranic communist government who undermines the future Romanian generation with its Marxist -Leninist education. GOD BLESS AMERICA !

Alexandru Bratu

Dr.Alexandru Bratu

Arthur Naren—News World

omanian author Dr. Dimitrie Apostoliu has been working in New York for ght years to increase awareness of the plight of his countrymen.

Romanian writer seeks freedom for countrymen

By Mike Butler
NEWS WORLD STAFF

ALTHOUGH HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES VOLUBLY DECRY police oppression in South Africa, Central America and South Korea, they scarcely mention the violations perpetrated daily communist Romania.

Dr. Dimitrie Apostoliu, a Romanian writer, translator and head of e Romanian National Committee for Human Rights, has been ringing the plight of Romanians to public attention since he arrived New York City in 1974.

Apostoliu said that political imprisonment, torture, labor camps nd execution has not faded in Romania as the country decreased its ependence on the Soviet Union. He described an event that took lace last year.

"On March 25, 1981, two born-again Christians... were arrested at e Romanian-U.S.S.R. border. What for? They were sitting in the ain, reading the Bible.

"The security turned them back to Succava City under arrest. In uceava... they were shot to death," said Apostoliu, who spent 16 years Romanian political prisons.

When the communists took control in 1947, Apostoliu was president of the press commission of the University Youth Organization of the National Peasant Party. After the party was abolished, thousands of rank and file members, Apostoliu included, were arrested, tortured, convicted and jailed.

He spent 1947-50 in jail, 1950-53 in a forced labor camp, 1953-56 as anunderground fugitive, 1956-57 in jail once again, 1957-58 as a fugitive and 1958-62 back in jail.

"I was condemned to death in 1962," he said. "When they drove me to the execution place, I jumped from the car and went underground for two years.

"In 1964, they gave me mercy," he said, adding that a condition of his release was that if he had been arrested for any political felony whatsoever, he would have been killed.

When he came out of hiding in April 1964, he found that his mother, father and brother had been killed by the security police. They were buried in three graves on the street — barred a place in a graveyard because they had been convicted and put to death by the Communist Party.

Under cover of darkness, Apostoliu said he dug up the coffins and buried them in a graveyard under false names.

Describing the present political situation in Romania, Apostolie said, "There is only one political party, the Communist one. In the so-called 'elections,' there is only one candidate, the one for the Communist Party."

President a 'terrorist'

Apostoliu never mentions Romanian President Ceausescu's name without prefixing it with the word "terrorist." He related a story of what the president of the British Royal Academy of Psychiatry experienced when he went undercover in 1981 to learn what Romanian prisoners of conscience were undergoing.

Trying to find out what happened to Vasaille Paraschiv a member of the Romanian Free Trade Union (the Romanian counterpart of Solidarity), who disappeared in 1980, the doctor visited Paraschiv's wife.

Mrs. Paraschiv reported that four security officers delivered a jar of ashes of her husband. He had supposedly been burned alive at the order of President Ceaucescu.

"They forced her to call up all the workers to say that Ceaucescu ordered it as a symbol for Romanian workers, to show what will happen to them if they do what her husband did (help organize a free trade union), Apostoliu said.

Apostoliu, who has a degree in international law, a Ph.D. in psychology and is a writer of fiction, drama, poetry and several screen plays, said that during the years he lived in Romania following release from prison, he opposed the communist regime in subtle ways.

One major coup of his was to get non-political magazines published for children. One such magazine is "Arici Pogoni," which features children's stories, poems and bright-colored artwork. However, it isn't entirely non-political.

Bereft of the ubiquitous hammer and sickle symbol of the Communist Party, and incorporating colors other than official blue, black and red, the cover of the April 1971 issue features an allegorical cartoon which lightly satirizes Ceaucescu's wife, children and, above all, mocks their quisling relationship with the Soviet Union.

Written in blood

Apostoliu presents his experience of torture at the hands of Romanian Security in his poem "Resurrection Night in Communist Romania."

Originally written in blood on pieces of a cigarette packet, the poem captures the plight of many Romanians who are opposed to the Romanian Security Service.

He wrote it on the Eastern Orthodox Easter night. In it, Apostoliu

(Continued on page 40)

ROMANIAN

FROM PAGE 1B

is relating his personal triumph over torture at the hands of an atheistic regime against the background of the Romanian Orthodox Church commemoration of Easter.

This excerpt describes a tor-

reaching a peak...
"Christian! Speak! Speak!
Speak!.."

* * *

The floor is a flood, dark red
blood; the ceiling is getting
splashed as well.
Thrashing and swearing, the colonel
is gnashing and snarling his ugly,
furious yell:
"Accomplices! Who are they? Hey
you!
Tell me! Tell me! Who is what"...

STATEMENT of Dr DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU
President of " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HUMAN RIGHTS"
Spokesman of THE HUNGER STRIKERS
BEFORE:
U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

****
" GOD MADE MAN TO BE FREE"
****
(MATHEUS)

HONORABLE Mr CHAIRMAN,
****
HONORABLE U.S. SENATORS, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE,
****

THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" organiser,
As President of THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES FOR FORCED SEPARATED
participant and spokesman of SEVENTEEN ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES FOR FORCED SEPARATED
FAMILIES REUNION in THE U.S.A,and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM
OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA"-I came today on the floor of THE MOST DEMOCRATIC
LEGISLATIVE FORUM OF THE WORLD: THE U.S.SENATE-that, in my name-the one who tried on
his own skin " THE HUMANISM OF COMMUNISM" by..."ENJOYING" THE HUMAN RIGHTS...SERVING
16 YEARS AS POLITICAL PRISONER IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s POLITICAL JAILS and into THE
FORCED LABOR CAMP" THE CANAL DANUBE- BLACK SEA"(" THE CANAL OF DEATH") and in the name
of THE HUNGER STRIKERS, to ask that:
- THE U.S. SENATE DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE " THE MOST FAVOURED NATION,s CLAUSE" STATUS TO:
TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA and to his COMMUNIST GOVERN-
MENT- UNTIL THERE WILL BE ENTIRELY ACCOMPLISHED:

****
" THE TEN POINTS OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS"
****

WE ARE FASTING FOR:
THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGE RELATIVES!
1.- THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE!
2.- GENERAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS FOR:
3.- THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE FROM POLITICAL JAIL AND THE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS FOR:
A- Pref. Dr. Reverend GHEORGHE CALCIU DUMITREASA!
B.- VASILE PREDA, Dr. CANA and Dr. BRASOVEANU, founders of " THE FREE TRADE UNION OF
THE ROMANIAN WORKERS"(" S.L.O.M.R." in ROMANIAN language)founded in 1978- two years
before POLAND,s " SOLIDARITY"
4.- THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN WORKERS"("S.L.O.M.R")TO BE REGISTERED WITH ROMANIAN
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN ODER TO ACT LEGALLY IN BEHALF OF ITS MEMBERS'as POLAND,s
" SOLIDARITY" did!
5.- THE ABOLISHEMENT OF PUNISHEMENT WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS,FORCED LABOR
CAMPS, FORCED RESIDENCE OR FORCED WORK WITHOUT PAYMENT AT ONE,sPLACE OF WORK- FOR:
POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE!
6.- THE YEARS(TERMS) SERVED IN POLITICAL JAILS, PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS, FORCED LABOR CAMPS,
FORCED RESIDENCE AND FORCED AND UNPAYD WORK AT ONE,s PLACE OF WORK-BY POLITICAL PRI-
SONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE- TO BE TAKE IN CONSIDERATION AS"YEARS SERVED IN
"LABOR FIELD"- IN THE RETIREMENT AND PENSION,s PLANS OF INDIVIDUALS OR,-IN CASE OF THE
DEATH OF THE INDIVIDUAL - IN THE PLANS OF THEIR WIDOWED WIVES OR ORPHAN CHILDREN!
7.- ALL U.S.A,s RESIDENTS WHOSE INDIVIDUAL ESTATES WERE NATIONALISED OR TOOK OVER BY ROMA-
NIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THEY EMIGRATED OR FLEED TO THE U.S.A.- TO RECEIVE
DAMAGES IN U.S. DOLLARS FOR THAT ESTATE, IN THE AMOUNT OF A COST OF A SIMILAR ESTATE
AT U.S.A,s REAL ESTATE MARKET VALUE!
8.- A " SPECIAL COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS" OF THE U.N.,TO INVESTIGATE THE FLAGRANT VIOLA-
TIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA, BASED ON INFORMATIONS WHICH WE WILL PROVIDE,
AND TO RESTORE" THE HUMAN RIGHTS" OVER THERE!
9.- TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT TO STOP RIGHT NOW AND
- ONCE FOR EVER- THEIR" STATE-DIRECTEDSUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM"BY MILITARY
TRAINING,WEAPONS, AMMUNITIONS, FOOD, CLOTHES AND MEDICINE,s SUPPLIES, EITHER, ON COMMU-
NIST ROMANIA,s TERRITORY OR OVERSEASE,-AS THE U.S.A,sDEFENSE DEPARTMENT,s "SPECIAL
COMMISSION ON INVESTIGATION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM" CHAIRED BY-U.S. RETIRED
ADMIRAL L.J.LONG-CONCLUDED AND REPORTED TO U.S.SENATE , TO U.S. CONGRESS AND TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A. ON JULY 1984!
10.- U.S.SENATE,U.S.CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A.,:
- TO DENOUNCE OFFICIALY AND PUBLIC" THE SECRET TREATY OF YALTA OF 1945"

BY WHICH THE EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE WITH THEIR TENS OF MILLIONS OF INNOCENT HUMAN BEINGS WERE ENSLAVED AND SOLD OUT TO SOVIET MOSCOW TO WHICH THERE WERE OPPENED THE DOORS OF FIVE CONTINENTS ACTUALY OCCUPIED STEP BY STEP BY COMMUNISTS GUERILLAS MONITORED BY RED MOSCOW!

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HONORABLE Mr CHAIRMAN,

****

HONORABLE U.S SENATORS, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE,

****

DO YOU HAVE ON YOUR DESK, THE LIST OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS AND OF THEIR RELATIVES, HOSTAGES in COMMUNIST ROMANIA.

DO YOU CAN SEE ON,AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO UNSUCCESFULY TRIED TO GET THEIR RELATIVES OUT OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA,SINCE YEARS AND YEARS AGO? SIX, FIVE YEARS AND MORE...

SINCE 1975 TERRORIST CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, WERE GRANTED " THE MOST FAVOURED NATION,s CLAUSE" STATUS, YEAR BY YEAR.

SINCE 1975 till 1983(included) TERRORIST CEAUSESCU SENT HIS SPECIAL ENVOY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A.,-BEFORE THE US. CONGRESS HEARINGS ON "M.F.N"-TO ASSURE HIM THAT HE WILL RESPECT" AD LITERAM" HIS COMMITEMENT UPON " THE TRADE AGREEMENT" AND " THE M.F.N"OF " EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA "AND THAT HIMSELF, PERSONALY WILL TAKE CARE OF"FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA AND OF BINNATIONAL MARRIAGES" !

THERE IS RIGHT THAT TERRORIST CEAUSESCU " TAKE CARE" PERSONALY ABOUT,...BUT ON THE "WAY OF " COMMUNISM,sHUMANITARIANISM!

- EVERY ONE OF WOULD BE EMIGRANTS,TO THE U.S.A.WAS:LAYD OFF FROM HIS JOB,THREATENED WITH PROSECUTION, CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL,FORCED TO REPORT FOR INVESTIGATION TO SECURITY,s HEADQUARTER ALL THE NIGHT LONG AND...THE NEXT DAY IN THE MORNING TO REPORT TO HIS PLACE OF WORK.THE MAIL WAS CUT OFF.THE PHONE CONVERSATIONS WERE BUGGED. THE SECURITY USE TO ATTACK THEM ON THE STREET, TO HIT THEM ,TO MAKE THEM TO BE AFFRAID TO LEFT THEIR HOME.WHAT FOR? TO FORCE THEM TO GIVE UP THEIR INTENTION OF EMIGRATE!... BUT DESPITE TERRORIST CEAUSESCU,s SECURITY,s PERMANENT HARASSEMENT AGAINST WOULD BE EMIGRANTS THEIR DETERMINATION TO BE REUNITED IN THE USA WITH THEIR RELATIVES BECAME STRONGER THAN EVER. PROOF?THE LIST WHICH IS OVER THERE, ON YOURS DESK!...
- THERE ARE ON YOUR DESK TOO, THE MEMORANDA OF EACH HUNGER STRIKER WITH THE DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND SECURITY,s TERROR AGAINST EACH OF WOULD BE EMIGRANT...
- THERE ARE ON YOUR DESK TOO,CLIPS OF US NATIONAL PRESS WITH REPORTS ABOUT:

1.- THE USSR,s SPY NET WORK LOCATED ON ROMANIAN EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C.-

2.- ROMANIAN DIPLOMATS EXPELLED FROM WESTERN COUNTRIES FOR ESPIONAGE IN BEHALF OF U.SSR!

3.- VASILE PARASCHIV, ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF " THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN WORKERS" (" S. L. O . M .R." in ROMANIAN language)BURNED ALIVE BY THE PERSONAL ORDER OF TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU.(reported to HELSINKI AGREEMENT SIGNATARRES CONFERENCE IN MADRID BY Professor Dr LAW BEAR, president of GREAT BRITAIN,s ROYAL COLLEGE OF PSYCHIATRY(Madrid 1980)

4.- BAPTISTS WORSHIPPERS SHOT TO DEATH BY SECURITY AT SUCEAVA CITY BECAUSE...THEY READ THE BIBLE IN TRAIN DURING A TRIP!..

FOR THIS CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, WE ARE ASKING THAT THE U.S. SENATE TO DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE " THE MOST FAVOURED NATION,s CLAUSE STATUS TO TERRORIST CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT!

THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT " STATE-DIRECTED SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM!

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- In 1983, the Congressional Record of THIS U.S.SENATE COMMITTEE,sHEARING on "M.F.N" printed my statement and that of Mr GEORGE HIRSOVESCU of New York and two reports of a New Yorker daily newspaper " THE NEWS WORLD" about TERRORIST NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,sFULL SUPPORT TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY MILITARY TRAINING, WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION DELIVERED IN ANGOLA AND IN OTHER THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES,BY ROMANIAN MERCHANT FLEET" T.A.R.O.M" WHICH USE TO LAND AND IN THE U.S.A. TOO.
- THERE ARE CLIPS OF NEWSPAPERS WITH REPORTS OF"ROMANIAN COMMUNISTS USE DRUGS TO FORCE DEFECTORS TO RETURN'and REPORTS ABOUT WHEN PILOTS OF " TAROM" TOOK TO SAFETY FROM WESTERN EUROPE COMMUNIST TERRORISTS WHO BOMBED AND KILLED INNOCENT WOMEN, KIDS AND ELDERS ...
- THERE ARE REPORTS ON UROMANIAN OFFICIALS WHO DRUGED AND BROUGHT ROMANIAN EXILEES TO " TAROM" AIRPLANES USYING THE DIPLOMATIC IMUNITY TO FLED THE CUSTOM,EVEN IN NEW YORK CITY. ON J.F. KENNEDY AIRPORT...

- THERE ARE REPORTS ON DEFENSE DEPARTMENT,s SPECIAL COMMISSION ON INVESTIGATION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM CHAIRED BY -U.S. RETIRED ADMIRAL L.J.LONG- WHO REPORTED ON JULY 1984 TO THE U.S. SENATE, TO THE U.S. CONGRESS AND TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A-
    - THAT COMMUNIST ROMANIA IS SUPPORTING THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY STATE-DIRECTED ACTIVE ACTIONS!

AND AS A RESULT , THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE SUMONED THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR MIRCEA MALITA AND HANDLED TO HIM AN OFFICIAL PROTEST WITH THE WARN THAT IF THIS ACTIVE ACTIONS OF STATE-DIRECTED ACTIVE SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM WILL NOT BE STOPED, THERE WILL BE A DRAMATIC CHANGE IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE USA AND COMMUNIST ROMANIA!

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- May I ask YOU, HONORABLE U.S. SENATORS,IF IN THE ABOVE MENTIONED "RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS"AND INVOLVED ON STATE-DIRECTED ACTIVE SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, THERE CAN EXIST IN THIS COUNTRY, THE U.S.A. ONE SINGLE HUMAN BEING TO RECCOMAND THAT THE U.S.SENATE TO GRANT " THE MOST FAVOURED NATION,s CLAUSE " STATUS TO:

TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, FLAGRANT VIOLATORS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, QUILTY OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY,AS THE ONES WHO SHOT TO DEATH TWO BAPTISTS BECAUSE THEY WERE READING THE BIBLE WHILE RIDE THE TRAIN- THE ONES WHO DRUGGED AND KIDNAPPED A ROMANIAN EXILEE EVEN IN NEW YORK CITY AND THEN BROUGHT HIM TO " TAROM FLIGHT ON J.F. KENNEDY AIRPORT TO BE TAKE BACK TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA?

CERTAINNELY NOT!

THEREFORE, I AM ASKING THAT THE U.S. SENATE TO DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE STATUS TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND TO HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT TILL " THE TEN POINTS OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS THERE WILL BE ENTIRELY ACCOMPLISHED!

- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!

Dr. DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU
DGApostoliu
President, AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
SPOKESMAN OF HUNGER STRIKERS

" THE HUMAN RIGHTS" in COMMUNIST ROMANIA

****

There are any kind of " HUMAN RIGHTS" in COMMUNIST ROMANIA

1.- FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND EXPRESSION

****

In COMMUNIST ROMANIA there is only a singlr POLITICAL PARTY.
The COMMUNIST PARTY abolished all others POLITICAL PARTIES

- On JULY 14,1947 was abolished the most powerful POLITICAL PARTY of THE KINGDOM OF ROMANIA: "THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY IULIU MANIU and ION MIHALACHE". Its leaders and tens of tausends of "rank and File" memers all over the country were arrested, terrtured,prosecuted convicted to POLITICAL JAILS terms, and after were released from POLITICAL JAILS were given FORCED RESIDENCE, were sent to FORCED LABOR CAMPS ...

Right now, in 1984 TERRORIST NICOLAE CEAUSESCU ordered a new waive of arrests and terrtures. Former leaders and rank and file members of THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY who served tens of years of POLITICAL JAILS and survived, WERE AGAIN ARRESTED, INTERVIEWED UNDER HARD PRESURE AND TORRTURED BY SECURITY.ONES WERE CONFINED TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS, OTHERS TO FORCED LABOR CAMPS, OTHERS PROSECUTED AND CONVICTED AGAIN TO POLITICAL JAILS TERMS.

-CORNELIU COPOSU, former DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PARTY AND PERSONAL SECRETARY OF Dr IULIU MANIU, was again arrested, terrtured and given FORCED RESIDENCE in BUCHAREST.-

- Dr Eng ION PUIU , former Leader of The Youth Organisation of THE NPP IULIU MANIU and ION MIHALACHE.-
- ION BARBUS, AUREL LEDOSAN, and MIHAI TARTIA, former leaders of The Youth Organisation of The NPP Party IULIU MANIU and ION MIHALACHE and MIRCEA CEACU, all of BUCHAREST after serving their POLITICAL JAILS TERMS, now,in JANUARY 1984 were again investigated and given OFRCED RESIDENCE...
- I.V.POPESCU MEHEDINTI former EDITOR of NPP IULIU MANIU and ION MIHALCHE,s ideological revue (weekely)"THE PAYSAN" and"THE JUSTICE OF VILLAGES" was given too forced residence.

ALL OF THEM MUST BE SAVED BY ASKING FOR THEM PASSPORTS FOR EMIGRATION DIRECTELY TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU.-

2.- When " THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN WORKERS"(" S L O M R" in ROMANIAN language)was founded in 1978 WAS ABOLISHED BY COMMUNISTS in JULY 1948. Its leaders and ten of tausends of rank and file members arrested, terrtured presecuted, convictud to POLITICAL JAILS TERMS and sent to PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS.-

-VASILE PARASCHIV, one of the founders of, WAS BURNED ALIVE BY THE PERSONAL ORDER OF TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU.-VAILE PREDA, ARRESTED, TORRTURED ,CONFINED TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL,- and finaly presecuted and convicted to 8 years of POLITICAL JAIL.-

- Dr CANA and Dr BRASOVEANU, - founders of " S L O M R" too, were arresed, terrtured, presecuted, convicted to POLITICAL JAIL...

2.- FREEDOM OF PRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

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- In COMMUNIST ROMANIA, the press, mass media and radio and TV are under the direct supervision of THE SECTION OF PRESS AND AGITATION OF THE PARTY.

THERE IS ANY SINGLE MAGAZINE, REVUE DAILY OR PERIODICALY NEWSPAPER OR RADIO OR TV PRIVATE STATION OR PRIVATE PUBLISWING HOUSE. EVERY SINGLE PUBLICATION IS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.-

3.- FREEDOM OF ART AND EXPRESSION

****

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE ONLY ONE WHO MONITORES THE CREATIONS OF WRITERS, POETS,SCULPTEURS, ARTISTS,AND THEIR UNIONS ARE UNDER PERMANENT AND DIRECT SUPERVISION OF PARTY,s SECTION OF PROPAGANDA AND ARTS.-

THE PENAL CODE PROVIDE POLITICAL JAIL TERMS FOR EVERY SINGLE UNPUBLISHABLE MANUSCRIPT FOUND OUT ON THE DESK OF AN WRITER OR POET AND FOR EVERY SINGLE SCULPTURE OR PAINTING "WHICH IS NOT INSPIRED AND DEDICATED " TO THE WORKING CLASS"OR TO THE FINAL VICTORY OF USSR AND HER ALLIEST" OVER THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM...

" THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"
345 West 86 th St # 717
NEW YORK CITY, N.Y. 10024
Phone(212) 873-9600 x 717

" THE SEVENTEENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE for FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in THE U.S.A

and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA"

STARTED: In front of UNITED NATION,s Headquarter in NEW YORK City on:
******** FRIDAY,AUGUST 3,1984

MOVED: To WASHINGTON D.C.on: CAPITOL,s steps, on the sidewalk of the White House and in front
****** of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY since:
MONDAY, AUGUST 6,1984

HUNGER STRIKERS in THE U.S.A.	HOSTAGE RELATIVES in COMMUNIST ROMANIA
1.- ANA ANTON 2.- EDWARD ANTON,MS(son) 8306 Kennedy Blvd North Bergen,NJ 07047 Phone(201)868-4682 PERMANENT RESIDENTS	1.- MIRCEA ANTON,born on MAY 24,1940,- son. 2.- CORNELIA ANTON(Maiden Name POPIVICI)b:1952- his wife 3.- OCTAVIAN ANTON,8,- their son- Of: Strada CALINULUI No 21,Sector 2, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA Telefon:53-66-44
3.-DAN ,ALEXE 345 West,86th St # 314 New York City, NY 10024 Phone(212) 873-9600 x 717 PERMANENT RESIDENT	1.- FLORICA SELARU, born on AUGUST 9,1957- fiancee- Of: Strada ANTON PAN ,No2, Apt 1,Sector 3, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA Tel:20-91-66 Her application is rejected continuesuely since JULY 24,1980. She had the insurance,and airplane tikets by TOLSTOY FOUNDATION
4.-RODICA BADESCU 5.- GEORGE BADESCU(husband) 31-47,41st St ASTORIA, NY 11103 Phone(212)355-8237 Office Phone(212)626-7227 Residence U.S. CITIZENS. They joined THE HUNGER STRIKE / in behalf of their HOSTAGE / RELATIVES EMIGRATION since 1982/ Their case being printed in CON/ GRESSIONAL RECORDS on HEARINGS / on " M.F.N"status for COMMUNIST/ ROMANIA	1.- RADU LUPAN, born on OCTOBER 29,1942- brother- 2.-IULIANA LUPSAN(maiden Name IONESCU) b:Feb 11,1945-his wife- 3.- FLORIN LUPSAN,6, born on DECEMBER 30,1977- their son- Of: Strada SUREN PANDARIAN No5,Bloc O.D. 21 B,Scara E,Etaj 3, Apt 192, Sector 2, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA(Tel:87-33-87) - They have PETITION VISA APPROVED.UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 6 YEARS THEY ARE PERMANENTELY TARGET OF SECURITY, HARASSED AND DISCRIMI- NATED ON POLITICAL GROUNDS,BY.-
6.-GABRIEL CRISTOAICA,M.S. 8869,20th Ave# 4C BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11.214 Phone(212)996-3719 U.S.CITIZEN by AUGUST 1984 Mr eng. GABRIEL CRISTOAICA, organise a HUNGER STRIKE for HUMAN RIGHTSin BUCURESTI,in 1977.- He did a HUNGER STRIKE in behalf of his HOSTAGE BROTHER/ EMIGRATION, in December 1983 in/ WASHINGTON D.C...	1.- MIHAI CRISTOAICA, born on JUNE 28,1943- brother- 2.-NICULINA CRISTOAICA(Maiden Name DUMITRESCU)b:7,28,45his wife- 3.- LIVIU CRISTOAICA,born on AUGUST 29,1967- their son- 4.- MARILENA CRISTOAICA, born on APRIL 24,1970- their daughter- Of: Strada PARTITURII No 8, Bloc 62, Scara C,Etaj6,Apt 108, Sector 6, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA(Tel: 32-66-28) - Since 1977 SECURITY,s HARASSEMENT AGAINST THEM INCREASED.Their applications WERE REJECTED SINCE, MORE THAN 24 TIMES! THE LAST REJECTION:JULY 1984!...

2

7.- ELENA CALINESCU 8.- MARIA-LUOZA CALINESCU (daughter) 31-15,33rd St # 8 ASTORIA, N.Y. 11106 Phone(212)458-3977 U.S.CITIZEN They joined in 1980,81,/ 82 and ,983 THE HUNGER STRIKE/ BUT THE TRIPS ARE STILL HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA...	1.- ANA TRIF(Maiden Name CALINESCU) born on 11,29,43- daughter- 2.- ION TRIF, ,-her husband- 3.- RARES TRIF,5,- their son Of: CALEA VICTORIEI No 108, TURDA, ROMANIA They applied for the first time in 1979 WHEN Mr ION TRIF WAS LAYD OFF AT PLACE!TO DATE, JULY 24,1984 THEY HAVE MORE THAN 20 REJECTIONS THE LAST REJECTION: JUNE 27,1984...
9.- DUMITRU CAPATA 10.- ELISABETA CAPATA(wife) 806 Seneca Ave Ridgewood, NY 11,385 Phone(212)386-5906 U.S.CITIZENS	1.- STEFAN CAPATA, born on FEBRUARY 23,1935- brother- 2.- AGAFTEA CAPATA, born on AUGUST 11,1936- his wife- 3.- MATTEI CAPATA, born on NOVEMBER 2,1950- brother 4.- LUCICA, CAPATA, born on OCTOBER 18,1955- his wife- 5.- LUCIAN CAPATA,8,- born on AUGUST 31,1977- their son 6.- ALEXANDRU C. CAPATA, born on APRIL 17,1980- their son- Of: Localitatea SATUL-NOU,No 67,Judetul BISTRITA-NASAUD.- UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 1976!...
12.-MARIAN COMOLI(son) 13.-MARIA COMOLI (wife) Maiden Name POPA 14.- ADRIAN COMOLI(father) 113- 05, 107 Ave Richmond Hills, NY 11.419 Phone(212) 843-2578 PERMANENT RESIDENTS	1.-GHEORGHE POPA,- father- (and father in law) 2.- ELENA POPA- mother(and mother in law) 3.- IOANA POPA,10,sister-(Mr& Mrs GHEORGHE&IOANA POPA,s-daughter-) Of: Strada GHIOLULUI No 48,Comuna TUZLA, Judetul CONSTANTA,Cod 8715, ROMANIA.- Telefon: Mr MARIAN &ADRIAN COMOLI did a HUNGER STRIKE in WASHINGTON DC & N.Y. in 1983 in THEIR EMIGRATION,s BEHALF and the one of MARIA COMOLI, BUT MARIA CAME OVER AND NONE OF THEM DID NOT RECEIVE EVEN APPLICATION
14.- DOINA-GRECU, COSAMBESCU 25-14,31st Ave # 6 D ASTORIA, NY 11106 Phone(212)545-7286 Res. MIRCEA COSAMBESCU(husband) US CITIZEN They joined THE HUNGER STRIKE since 1982 BUT Their RELATIVES ARE STILL/ HOSTAGES in .COMMUNIST ROMANIA!...	1.-GHEORGHE GRECU,born on MAY 27,1913,- father, FORMER 13 years POLITICAL PRISONER in COMMUNIST ROMANIA 2.-MARIA GRECU, born on JUNE 10,1916- mother 3.- CORNELIU-VORNICU, GRECU, born on MAY 15,1947- brother 4.- MARIANA GRECU, born on OCTOBER 1953- his wife- 5.- GEORGE-LUCIAN, GRECU ,3,- their son 6.- ALEXANDRU GRECU,1,- the r son 7.- MIHAI GRECU, born on OCTOBER 1,1955- brother- All of them (1-7) residing together at STRADA APUSULUI No 48, Bloc 47,Etaj 3,Apt 35,Sector 6,BUCURESTI, COD 77568, ROMANIA TELEFON: 606507 8.- RAZVAN-VALERIU, GRECU, born onOCTOBER 1,1943- brother- 9.- RODICA, GRECU born on JULY 12,1952- his wife- 10 - ANA GRECU,7,-their daughter- 11.- MIHAELA GRECU,5, - their daughter- All of them((8-11) residing at: STRADA BABA NOVAC No 21,Bloc G 11, Apt 50,BUCURESTI 3(Telefon:48-50-46) Mr RAZVAN VALERIU was removed from his job and send as GEOLOGIST at: COMUNA SOMOVA District of TULCEA, Oficiul Postal SOMOVA, Judetul TULCEA COD 8837.But his PERMANENT RESIDENCE is the same as above with his family.

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17.- GEORGE DOBRICAN
1372 West,80th St # 206
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44102
Phone(216) 961-1291
c/o Jean Avram
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- SILVIA PATCAN,born on FEBRUARY 25,1954 - fiancee
Of: ZONA PLAVAT 2, Bloc 26,Apt 13, Etaj 3, TIMISOARA, ROMANIA
Telefon:(961)46261 c/o SARACU family.-

- She applied for her binational marriage approval with COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s COUNCIL of STATE,in respect of BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT concerning BINATIONAL MARRIAGES, she must be allowed to emigrate to The USA to marry me over here, in Cleveland, Ohio, USA. She applied with COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s COUNCIL OF STATE on DEC 13,198 Her application was denied by on MAY 14,1984 AND SHE WAS THREATENED BY SECURITY WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL IF SHE WILL NOT GIVE UP HER INTENTION TO EMIGRATE TO MARRY ME IN THE U.S.A.!...

2.- EUGEN IANCIC,-born on MARCH 15,1938- cousin
FORMER POLITICAL PRISONER in COMMUNIST ROMANIA (1977)
Aplied for EMIGRATION since 1978. HIS APPLICATION WAS REJECTED FOUR TIMES to date(July 24,1984)

* * *

18.- ELISABETH FEHER
29-07,31st Ave # $ A
ASTORIA, N.Y. 11106
Phone(212) 626-0003
POLITICAL REFUGEE
Mrs ELISABETH FEHER was/
in HUNGER STRIKE on behalf/
of her married son and his/
wife and son,s EMIGRATION /
in DECEMBER 1983 in New York City/
and in WASHINGTON D.C./

1.- IANO, CAROL,26- son
2.- IANO GABRIELA,M.D(Maiden Name)28,- his wife
3.- IANO SEBASTIAN,1,- their son-
Of:Strada RARAU No 3,CLUJ- NAPOCA, ROMANIA
They received " THE BIG FORMS" in JUNE 1984 BUT TO DATE,JULY 17,84 = THERE IS ANY WORD ABOUT...

BUT HER SON & HIS FAMILY ARE STILL HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA!...

* * *

19.- MARIA GALBAU,M.S.
Maiden Name: POPESCU
790 Seneca Ave
Ridgewood, NY 11.385
Phone(212)366-3121
U.S.CITIZENSHIP APPLICANT/
Mrs MARIA GALBAU, did
in her HOSTAGE RELATIVES
EMIGRATION,s behalf a
HUNGER STRIKE in New York
City & Washington DC in
DECEMBER 1983.-
BUT THEY ARE STILL
HOSTAGES in COMMUNIST

1.- LEPADATU, POPESCU born on FEBRUARY 19,1913- father-
2.- VICTORIA POPESCU(maiden Name MANEA) b:MAY 5,1921- mother
Of:COMUNA SMIRNA, JUDETUL PRAHOVA, ROMANIA
3.- ELENA STANCIU(maiden Name POPESCU) b:NOVEMBER 15,1943- sister
4.-ION STANCIU, b: 1936- her husband
5.- LIVIU STANCIU, 19,- their son
6.-CRISTINA STANCIU, born on JANUARY 3,1967- their daughter
All of them(3,4,5&6)residing at:COMUNA COCRASTI,-COLT, JUDET PRAHOVA, ROMANIA.
7.- FLOAREA, MATEI(miaden Name POPESCU)-b:FEBRUARY 2,1947-sister
8.- ANDREEA MATEI,8, b:AUGUST 12,1975- her sister
9.- MIHAELA MATEI,7, b: NOVEMBER 8,1976- her daughter-
Of: Strada BIRSTOR No 100, Bloc 80,-A, Scara B, Etaj 10, Apt 88,
Sector 3, BUCURESTI.ROMANIA(Telefon:483896

ROMANIA.- THE SECURITYFORBIDEN Mrs ANDREEA MATEI & HER CHILDREN TO COME TO SECURITY,s SO CALLED: OFFICE FOR PASSPORTS AND VISAS AND TO SEE WHAT THE SITUATION IS WITH THEIR APPLICATIONS REJECTED TILL JUNE 17, 1984 MORE THAN 13 TIMES...

* * *

20.- IUXEL, GEAFAR
25-21,21st Ave # B45
ASTORIA, NY 11106
Phone(212) 932-9669
PERMANENT RESIDENT

COMMUNIST ROMANIAN
CONSUL TO WASHINGTON DC/
SBAVA,TOOK HUNDREDS OF
DOLLARS " BRIBE" FROM/
Mr IUXEL,GEAFAR AND PUR-/
POSED TO HIM TO HAVE
HIS FIANCEE OVER HERE/

1.-SANDA-MIHAELA, VOICULESCU,MS,born on AUGUST 14,1955- fiancee-
Of: ALEEA CISMELEI No 1,Apt 78,TOMIS-NORD, CONSTANTA, ROMANIA
Telefon(916)48074
THE COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s COUNCIL OF STATE REFUSED TO GIVE TO HER ON OCTOBER 10,1982 THE LEGAL APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF HER BINATIONATIONAL MARRIAGE WITH ME, OVER HERE IN NEW YORK CITY. SHE RECEIVED THE APPLICATION ONLY AFTER ONE YEAR ON OCTOBER 1983,BUT THE COUNCIL OF STATE, REFUSED TO...REGISTER HER APPLICATION ON POLITICAL GROUNDS THAT HER FIANCEE Mr IUXEL GEAFAR...ISPOLITICAL REFUGEE IN THE USA... IF HE WILL COMEBACK TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND I WILL APOLOGISE TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU THAT HE DEFECTED IN TURKEY ...MAYBE HER APPLICATION WILL BE APPROVED!...

IF HE WILL PAY TO COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF ROMANIA A" RANSOM" OF $ 10.000 EVEN IN MONTHLY RATES

* * *

.- GHEORGHE .GOGA, M.S. 76-20,57th Road ELMHURST, NY.11.373 Phone(212)779-3640 POLITICAL REFUGEE(FIANCE) 1.- ELENA STOICA(MARIANA,s sister) Maiden Name VASILE 2.- GHEORGHE STOICA(husband) 43-39,39 Place # 12 A SUNNYSIDE,NY 1110 POLITICAL REFUGEES	1.- MARIANA VASILE, born on SEPTEMBER 27,1954- fiancee- Of: STRADA EPOCEI No14,A, Sector 1, COD 71501, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA Telefon:33-22-64
3.- AURELIA NAPA 301 HUMBOLDT St # 2 Brooklyn, NY 11.211 Phone(212) 388-1529 Residence Phone(212) 246-3151 or (212) 265-4060-Office PERMANENT RESIDENT	1.- ION NAPA, 25,- brother- 2.- DOINA NAPA(Maiden Name NEGRU) born on 1959-his wife- 3.- ADRIANA-LUIZA, NAPA, 2,- their daughter 4.- NICOLAE NAPA, 31,- brother- 5.- NICOLETA NAPA,7,- his daughter- All of them residing at:STRADA VANATORILOR ,Blc B 8, Etaj 3, Apt 12,ALBA-IULIA, COD 2.500, ROMANIA.-(Tel:22414
.- ASTRID GREENVILLE Maiden Name GHIGU 132 NICHOLS Road NESCONSET,N.Y.11767 Phone(212) 239-5363 Phone(212) 979-8251 Residence U.S. CITIZEN Mrs ASTRID GREENVILLE, did / a HUNGER STRIKE in New York/ City & in WAASHINGTON D.C. in/ behalf of her HOSTAGE RELATIVES/ BUT THEY ARE STILL HOSTAGES in COMMUNIST ROMANIA!...	1.- IRMINA SOBARU(Maiden Name GHIGU) born on1923-sister- 2.- CONSTANTIN SOBARU,M.S. b: JUNE 7,1950- her son- 3.- MIHAELA SOBARU, born on1955- his wife- 4.- FRANSISC SOBARU, born on 1980- their son,4, Of: Strada DIONISIE LUPU No 65, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA - They tried to apply since MARCH 1980. To date JULY 24,1984, THEY HAVE MORE THAN 24 REJECTIONS.- Mrs MIHAELA SOBARU WAS LAYD OFF WHEN SHE APPLIED:1980 Mr engineer CONSTANTIN SOBARU was layd off in 1983.- THEY HAVE PETITION VISAS APPROVED SINCE MARCH 1982.-
.- NICULAIE LUCU .- MARIA LUCU(wife) Maiden Name MARIA. CHIVU. .- NICOLETA LUCU, - daughter 1770 East,14th St # 1 D Brooklyn, NY 11.229 Phone(212) 998-4751 U.S.CITIZENS They are part of a FAMILY OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS, WHO SERVED TENS OF YEARS OF POLITICAL JAIL TERMS FOR THEIR FIGHT OF ROMANIA/ INDEPENDANCE FROM USSR...	1.- DUMITRA STAN, (maiden Name CHIVU) born on 1930- sister- 2.- PETRE STAN, born on -her husband- 3.- MARIAN STAN, born on - their son- Of: ALEEA BARAJ BICAZ No 5, Bloc M3 A-B,Scara L, Apt BUCURESTI, ROMANIA Telefon: Mr NICULAIE STAN, Mrs DUMITRA STAN,s husband and the natural father of her above mentioned sons, WAS A POLITICAL PRISONER. HE DIED in 1975 AFTER HE COMEBACK FROM " A HOT INTERVIEW" AT SECURITY,s HEADQUARTERinBUCHAREST, WHERE HE WAS TORRTURED TO GI- VE " TIPS" ON HIS UNDERGROUND ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES... ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES CHARGED BY SECURITY DUE TO THE FAC THAT HE WAS CONVICTED BEFORE TO POLITICAL JAIL FOR...
.- SERBAN-BAN, LAZAR 618 A St South East # B WASHINGTON D.C. 20.003 Phone(202) 546-2548 Residence U.S.CITIZEN	1.- ION LAZAR, born on NOVEMBER 15,1911- father- 2.- ELENA CHIRCULESCU, born on 1905- grandmother Of :Strada PITAR MOS No 19,Sector 1, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA Telefon: 12-68-64. - Mrs IOSEFINA LAZAR(Maiden Name FIANU) Mr ION,s wife and Mr SERBAN-BAN LAZAR,s mother DIED on APRIL 14,1973 after " A HOT interview" at SECURITY,s Headquareter in BUCHAREST, on her application to join HER AMERICAN CITIZEN SON,in WASHINGTON D.C
29.- ANDREI-MIHAI,MATEI,M.S.	1.- FLOAREA MATEI,M.S(maiden Name POPESCU) born on Feb 2,47-wif 2.- ANDREEA MATEI,8, born on AUG 12,1975- our daughter 3.- MIHAELA MATEI,7,- born on NOV 8, 1976- our daughter Of: Strada BRISTOR No 100,Bloc 10 a, Scara B, Etaj 10,Apt 88, Sector 3, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA (Telefon: 48-38-96) - They tried to apply for EMIGRATION since FEBRUARY 1983.

5

29.-ANDREI, MIHAI, MATEI, M.S.
18-44, Stephen St # 2.-
Ridgewood, NY 11.385
Mail adress: P.O.BOX 3290
Ridgewood, NY 11.386
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- FLOAREA MATEI, M.S.(maiden Name POPESCU)b:Feb.2,1947-wife-
2.- ANDREEA MATEI,8, b:AUGUST 12,1975- daughter
3.- MIHAELA MATEI,7, b:NOVEMBER 8,1976- daughter
Of: Strada BRISTOR No 100,Bloc 10 A,Scara B,Etajul 10,,Apt 88, Sector 3, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA(Telefon:48-38-96)

-Received " THE BUTTERFLIES" only onMARCH 1983.Applied on APRIL 8
To date JULY 17,1984 THEY HAVE...MORE THAN 13 REJECTIONS...
Mrs FLOAREA MATEI WAS FORBIDEN TO COME OVER TO SECURITY,s SO CALLED " OFFICE ON PASSPORTS AND VISAS IN BUCHAREST, NICOLAE IORGA .Street TO SEE WHAT THE SITUATION OF HER APPLICATION IS...
Mrs FLOAREA MATEI WAS LAYD OFF FROM HER JOB BYJULY 1983.ONE YEAR AGO WITHOUT ANY POSSIBILITY TO SUPPORT HER SELF AND HER TWO MINOR DAUGHTERS.THREATENED BY SECURITY WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL!...

* * *

0.- MANUC MANUCHIAN
43-15,46th St # B6
L.I.C., NY 11104
Phone(212)729-5610
SION MANUCHIAN(wife)
PERMANENT RESIDENTS

1.- GILDA SARAIBARIAN,M.A(Maiden Name MANUCHIAN)b:7,19,50daughter
2.- SARCHIZ SARAIBARIAN,B.S. b:4,2,1948- her husband
3.- ROBERT EDMOND SARAIBARIAN,5, b: OCT 17,1977- their minor son
Of: BULEVARDUL I.G. DUCA No 77, Bloc L 49, Etaj 7, Apt 31, CONSTANTA, ROMANIA.-

After CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS on "M.F.N "status to COMMUNIST ROMANI ROMANIA of summer 1983- SARAIBARIANS WERE TOLD BY SECURITY OF CONSTANTA City, THAT...Mr MANUC MANUCHIAN WILL COMEBACK TO ROMANIA THEREFORE THEY DO NOT HAVE WITH WHO TO BE REUNITED IN NEW YORK AND THEY WERE FORCED TO SIGNE THAT...THEY RENONCE TO PICK UP THE ALREADY APPROVED PASSPORTS DUE TO US SENATE INTERFERENCE DIRECTELY TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA...BECAUSE THERE IS NO MORE A CASE OF" FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN THE U.S.A ...SINCE Mr. MANUCHIAN AND HIS WIFE...APPLIED TO BE REPATRIATED TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA...

- After several weeks when they LEARNED THAT THE SECURITY LIED TO THEM(THEY CUT OFF THEIR CORRESPONDANCE WITH Mr MANUCHIAN AND PHON PHONE CALLES FROM USA TO AVOID THEM TO LEARN THE TRUTH...)

On 1984 THEY APPLIED AGAIN FOR PASSPORTS, BUT TO DATE,JULY 17 ,1984 THERE IS ANY ANSWER ABOUT...

* * *

31.- VIRGINIA MORTUN, M.S.
Maiden Name FRECATEANU
32.- SORIN MORTUN, MS(husband)
38-08,23rd Ave
Long Island City, NY11105
Phone(212) 274-0973 Resid.
Phone(212) 696-7047 Office
PERMANENT RESIDENTS .
They did a HUNGER STRIKE in New York City & in WASHINGTON D.C. on DEC 1983

1.- NELA FRECATEANU, born on FEBRUARY 19,1957- sister
Of: Strada MATEI BASARAB , Bloc B 5,Scara B, Etaj 2,Apt 10, SLOBOZIA City,District of IALOMITA, ROMANIA-Tel:(91o)11883

-She tried to apply since APRIL 1981 BUT RECEIVED"THE BUTTERFLIES" ONLY ON OCTOBER 25,1982.-SHE WAS EXPELLED FROM POLITECHNICAL INSTITUTE OF BUCHAREST WITH WHICH SHE WAS A STUDENT ON THE FOURTH /GRADE.-

She was threatened with confinement to psychiatric hospital if she will not give up her intention to be reunite with her sister in THE USA. DESPITE SECURITY,s HARASSEMENT SHE IS MORE DETERMINATED THAN EVER TO EMIGRATE!...

BUT Miss NELA FRECATEANU IS STILL HOSTAGE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA!...

* * *

33.- EUFROSINA MARCU
47-32, The Boulevard
Westmount,QUEBEC
CANADA,H 3Y1T9
Phone(514)483-3321

Participant toThe 12th 13th,14th,15th & 16th HUNGER STRIKES in NY & Washington DC? gton DC and in OTTAVA,CANADA in front of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,S EMBASSY in 1982...

Mr MARCU WAS ROMANIAN ECONOMIC ATTACHE TO TEHRAN,IRAN and DEFECTED in CANADA...

1.- ECATERINA DUMITRESCU,- sister
2.- DECEBAL DUMITRESCU- her husband
Of Strada EPISCOPIEI No 2,BUCURESTI,ROMANIA
3.- MARIANA DUMITRESCU,-niece-
4.- RAZVAN DUMITRESCU- nephew-
5.- DIANA-INA, DUMITRESCU,4,- niece- their daughter(MARIANA&RAZVAN
Of: Strada MIRON CONSTANTINESCU Bloc 3 E, Apt 60,BUCURESTI

They WERE LAYD OFF FROM THEIR JOBS AND DO NOT HAVE ANY POSSIBULITY TO SUPPORT THEMSELVES AND THEIR MINOR DAUGHTER,4,-Since 1979 to date THEY HAVE MORE THAN 36 REJECTIONS...

* * *

6.- LIDIA NICULESCU
415 ONDERDONK Ave # 1 R
Ridgewood, NY 11.385
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- VALERIU CATANA, born on NOVEMBER 11,1943- fiance-
Of: Strada VALEA CALUGAREASCA No 2, Bloc 8,Scara C, Etaj 1,
Apt 34,Sector 6,Cod 77474 BUCURESTI, ROMANIA
He obtained " THE BUTTERFLIES" on OCTOBER 16,1982.
On DECEMBER 16,1983...THE FIRST REJECTION...
Last rejection THE 24th ONE, was byJULY 13,1984...

* * *

35.- MIHAI NEMET
29 EUCLID Ave# 1
Fairfield, Connecticut
Connecticut 06432
Phone(203)334-0620 Res.
Phone(203) 334-1884 Office
U.S.CITIZENSHIP APPLICANT

1.- ANA NEMET(Miaden Name BADIN) born on DECember 14,80-wife-
Of: Strada EMIL RACOVITA No 29-31,Sector 4, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA
She tried to apply since 1978.ARRESTED on AUGUST 7,1982.
ROMANIAN EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C. ASKET " A RANSOM OF $ 25,000"
FOR HER RELEASE. " THEY ACCEPT" THAT THE AMOUNT TO BE PAYD BY Mr ...
NEMET" EVEN IN RESONABLE MONTHLY RATES"...

He joined THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE in New York City & WASHINGTON D.C. in 1983 BUT WIFE IS STILL IN JAIL. THE US EMBASSY TO BUCHAREST KNOW THE CASE...

* * *

36.- CONSTANTA PANCU,MS
37.- DIANA PANCU,14,daughter
1533West Lidley Ave
Philadelphia, Pa 19141
Phone(212)896-6409
c/o GHENTA ,family in NY.

1.- EUGEN PANCU,MS born on APRIL 11,1935- husband
Of: Strada Dr DJUVARA No 30, Sector 1, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA
Tel: 49-63-83
HOSTAGE in COMMUNIST ROMANIA SINCE 1982.-
LAST REJECTION:JULY 24,1984...

She joined THE HUNGER STRIKE in NEW YORK and in WASHINGTON D.C. in 1983,BUT HER HUSBAND IS STILL HOSTAGE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.

* * *

38.- NICOLAIE PANTEA
321 West,80th St # 9
New York City, NY 10024
Phone(212)595-0311
US CITIZENSHIP APPLICANT

1.- MARIA VOINEA, born on JULY 16,1951- fiance-
Of: ONT CARPATI,POIANA BRASOV, ROMANIA
She tried to join her fiance since 1980.To date, JULY 17,1984 she got MORE THAN 36 REJECTIONS. BUT IS STILL PERSUADING TO EMIGRATE...

* * *

39.- Dr. EUGENIA PREDESCU,D.D.S.
120 Dekruiff Place # 15 E
THE BRONX,NY 10475
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- MARILENA GHEORGHIU(Maiden Name PREDESCU) B:4,3,38- sister
2.- PETRONEL GHEORGHIU,MS, b: 5,4,37- her husband
3.- MARILENA-LAURA, GHEORGHIU, b: 1963- their daughter
Of: Strada SFINTII VOIEVOZI No 29,Etaj 1, Apt 13,Sector 1,
BUCURESTI, ROMANIA- Telefon: 50-00-30
They applied for EMIGRATION on NOVEMBER 24,1980, To date,JULY 17,84 they HAVE 34 REJECTIONS!...

She joined THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES in 1982& 1983. The case is printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of HEARINGS on "MFN" status to COMMUNIST ROMANIA. BUT HER RELATIVES ARE STILL HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA...

* * *

0.- AUREL RADULESCU, M.A in THEOLOGY
17-06 Woodbine St
Ridgewood, NY 11.385
Phone(212) 381-9120
PERMANENT RESIDENT
He joined THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES in 1982 & 1983,BUT HIS FAMILY IS STILL HOSTAGE in COMMUNIST ROMANIA!

1.- VALENTIN RADULESCU ,born on 1937- brother
2.- MARIA RADULESCU(maiden Name OLARESCU) b:his wife
Of: COMUNA PRUNDENI, JUDETUL VALCEA, ROMANIA
3.- MAGDALENA POPESCU(Maiden Name RADULESCU) ,34- sister
4.- Very Reverend VASILE POPESCU- her husband
5.- ELENA-ILEANA,POPESCU,- their daughter
6.- ANTONINA POPESCU,- their daughter
7.- OLIMPIA POPESCU,- their daughter
8.- CECILIA POPESCU - their daughter
OF- COMUNA IONESTI, JUDETUL

The Very Reverend VASILE POPESCU IS PERMANENTELY HARASSED BY SECURITY ON RELIGIOUS AND ON POLITICAL GROUNDS. HE WAS FORCED BY SECURITY TO SIGNE OUT THAT HE RENOUNCE TO EMIGRATE,OTHERWISE WILL BE CONFINED TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL. TORRTURED HE SIGNED. BUT AFTER TWO WEEKS ...HE APPLIED AGAIN.

Their first application:WITH " BUTTERFLIES" in 1982.Since, to date THEY have more than 20 REJECTIONS. BUT THEY DID NOT GIVE UP!...

* * *

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41.- ION FREDA
42.-
43.-
44.-
118-08,41st ...
CORONA, N.Y. 11.368
Phone(212) 821-5728

They joined ANY SINGLE HUNGER STRIKE in THE USA AND ATTENDED CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON "MFN" TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA, since 1980 to 1984, BUT THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL HERO AND FREEDOM FIGHTER VASILE REDA IS STILL HOSTAGE IN TERRORIST CEAUSESCU,s POLITICAL JAILS BEING TORRTURED BY SECURITY ON NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,s PERSONAL ORDER!...

1. VASILE FREDA, born on 3,24,59- son
ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF " THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN WORKERS" "S.L.O.M.R." (in ROMANIAN SPELLING)in 1978(TWO YEARS BEFORE POLAND,s " SOLIDARITY")
Arrested since JULY 1978, terrtured, confined four times to PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL . Convicted to serve 8 years of HARD LABOR as POLITICAL PRISONER IS SERVING HIS TERM IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT AT THE TERRIBLE POLITICAL JAIL " GHERLA" BEING HARD BEATEN UP THREE TIMES A DAY!... HE BECAME A SHADOW. THERE IS NEED OF A STRONG INTERVENTION DIRECTELY TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO S.VE HIM AND TO HAVE HIM LET TO GO!...
His last legal residence:INTRAREA BADEI No 6, Bloc M9,Scara 7,Etaj 1, Apt 64, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA.

* * *

45.- MINERVA-BUCUR,RADU,AFZAL
22-11, 23rd St
ASTORIA,NY 11102
Phone(212)545-3988

U.S. CITIZEN.- She attended ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES since 1980 BUT THEIR RE RELATIVES ARE STILL HOSTAGES in COMMUNIST ROMANIA

1.- NICOLAE BUCUR-RADU,87- father
2.- NICOLAE BUCUR-RADU, born on 12,11,1930-brother
3.- MARIA BUCUR-RADU, born on 1947- his wife
4.- MINERVA M.A. BUCUR-RADU, born on 1975- their daughter
5.-NICOLAE BUCUR-RADU, born on 1977-their son
6.- CORNELIA RADEANU,-born on 1967- their daughter
7.- VERONICA RADEANU, born on 1968- their daughter
All of them (1-7) residing at: ALEEA LUNCA SIRETULUI No1,Apt Apt 10,Etaj 2, DRUMUL TABEREI,BUCURESTI,ROMANIA(Tel:77-41-55)
8.- EUGEN HUNDORFEAN, born on 1934- father
9.- ELENA HUNDORFEAN,- his wife
10.- ELENA HUNDORFEAN,- their daughter
All of them (8-100 residing at:Strada GORENI No 51,GIULESTI Sector 7, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA.
They applied first time on 1978.On OCTOBER 1982 were LAYD OFF FROM JOBS.TO DATE,JULY 24,1984 THEY HAVE MORE THAN 34REJECTIONS BUT THEY DID NOT GIVE UP AND CONTINUED TO STRUGGLE FOR THEIR FREEDOM!...

* * *

46.- FLORENTINA-CORNELIA, RUS
c/o LOUIS BALASZ
1324 UNION Ave Road
NEWBURG,N.Y.12250
Phone(914)564-7875
POLITICAL REFUGEE

1.- ALEXANDRU, RUS, born on MAY 19,1947- husband-
2.- ALEXANDRU- CRISTIAN, RUS, born on 1972- son-
3.- DIANA-LUCIA, RUS,10, born on 1964- daughter-
Of: Strada MAX WEXLER No 19, SECTOR 2, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA-Tel:53-31-71
Mr ALEXANDRU RUS WAS LAYD OFF FROM HIS JOB onJULY 11,1983.
TO DATE,JULY 1984 HE HAS 8 REJECTIONS ON HIS APPLICATION!...

* * *

47.- CARMEN-MARIA, SALVETIU
48.- CRISTINA SALVETIU(daughter)
128 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH
New York City, NY10019
Phone(212) 757-5811
U.S.CITIZEN

SINCE 1975 THEY ATTENDED ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES & CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON "MFN" STATUS TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA, THEIR NAMES AND STATEMENTS BEING PRINTED IN CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS ABOUT, BUT THEIR DEAR RELATIVES ARE STILL HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.TERRORIST CEAUSESCU REFUSE TO LET THEM GO!...

1.- LUCIAN SALVETIU, born on 7,20,33- brother
2.- IULIANA SALVETIU(Maiden Name CONDACI) b:8,16,42- his wife
3.- MARINEL SALVETIU, b:9,26,58-their son-
4.- VIOREL -TUDOR,SALVETIU,b:1,13,60- their son-
5.- LILIANA SALVETIU(Maiden Name CONDACI) VIOREL,s wife
Of: COMUNA SEMLAC No 1171 Judetul ARAD.,ROMANIA
UNRESOLVED CASES SINCE 1975!...

* * *

49.- SORIN V. POPA
He was convicted to two 25 years of HARD LABOR and one 10 years HARD LABOR by MILITARY COURT of BUCHAREST for "HIGH TREASON in BEHALF OF THE USA/

1.- CARMEN EVENGHELINA TOMA(Maiden Name TOMA)PhDA,b:11,23,71-wife-
2.- RAZVAN-TUDOR,POPA,11, b: 11,23,71-son-
3.- SORIN POPA,10, b: 4,25,72- son
Residing at: STRADA SPIRU HARET No 16, Scara A, Etaj 2,Apt 16, Sector 1, BUCHAREST, ROMANIA(Telefon: 13-75-61)
They received THE BIG FORMS in JUNE 1984 BUT ANY ANSWER ABOUT TO DATE: JULY 26 1984...

* * *

50.- GHEORGHE PERU
89-19,171th St # 1 G
JAMAICA, NY 11.432
Phone(212)297-5186 Res
Phone(212)544-3654 Business
U.S. CITIZEN
He attended ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES
and CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS on"MF.N"
status to COMMUNIST ROMANIA having
his statements printed in Congressional
Records, about.

1.- ION PERU,born on 6,10,23,- brother-
Of Strada Dr BJUVARA No 10 Bis, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA
Telefon:
UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 1980: FOUR YEARS!...

* * *

51.- ION STEFAN,M.S.
- CONSTANTINA STEFAN(mother)
41,41, 44th St # 3 D
Long Island City, NY11104
Phone(212)937-4218
PERMANENT RESIDENTS.
Mr engineer ION STEFAN,is
the leader of a GROUP OF
FREEDOM FIGHTERS who orga-
nised a HUNGER STRIKE for
HUMAN RIGHTS in DRUMUL TABEREI/
BUCURESTI, ROMANIA in1978 with/
16 families!...
Arrested, torrtured, confined/

1.- JEAN CIOLACU, born on 5,28,52-cousin FORMER POLITICAL PRISONER
OF:Strada 11 IUNIE No 39, GALATI, ROMANIA
2.- DUMITRA GHIOCA(maiden Name CIOLACU) b:5,28,41- cousin
3.- CONSTANTIN GHIOCA,b: 5,28;41- her husband
4.- AURELIA GHIOCA,b: 1,1,63- their daughter-
5.- FLORIN GHIOCA, b:6,16,64- their son
6.- DANIELA GHIOCA, b: 3,16, 70- their daughter.-
7.- LENUTA LOVIN,(bMaiden Name GHIOCA) b:10,7,60- cousin-
8.- CONSTANTIN LOVIN, b: 10,25,57- her husband-
9.- AURELIAN LOVIN,b: 12,20,82,- their son-
All of them residing at STRADA APRTIZANILOR No 48,Bloc G 2,
Apt 22,TIGLINA,GALATI,COD 62.00,ROMANIA(Telefon:(34)33638
UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 1982. STILL REJECTED SINCE!...

to PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL, WAS RELEASED BY US SENATE PRESSURE. ALL HUNGER STRIKERS of 16 FAMILIES ARE IN THE USA!.. Since 1982 Mr eng. ION STEFAN & his mother ATTENDED THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES & CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON " M.F.N" STATUS TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA, having their statements printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS about. BUT THEIR RELATIVES (FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS in COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s POLITICAL JAILS) ARE STILL HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA!...

* * *

53.- DUMITRU STRAIN
689 Seneca Ave # 3L
Ridgewood, NY 11.385
Phone(212)456- 0923
PERMANENT RESIDENT
FORMER POLITICA PRISONER in
COMMUNIST ROMANIA.
Attended THE HUNGER STRIKE
in NEW YORK City & in
WASHINGTON D.C in DEC,1983.-
in behalf of his HOSTAGE
RELATIVES EMIGRATION TO The USA
BUT THEY ARE STILL HOSTAGES in
COMMUNIST ROMANIA!...

1.- DUMITRU STRAIN, born on JULY 18,1975- son-
2.- ELISABETA CILLAG,b:Feb 2,1956- fiancee & mother of DUMITRU
3.- ECATERINA STRAIN, 70,- mother-
4.- ION STRAIN b:3,22,50- brother-
5.- VIORICA STRAIN, 26- ION,s wife
6.- ALEXANDRU STRAIN, b: Feb 2, 1942- brother-
7.- DESPINA COSTINAS(Maiden Name STRAIN)37 years,- sister-
8.- TUDOR COSTINAS,37,- her husband
9.- COSTEL COSTINAS, , - their son-
All of them (# 1- # 9) residing at:Strada 6 MARTIE No 19,
MOLDOVA-NOUA, Judetul CARAS-SEVERIN, ROMANIA
10.- MARIOARA STRAIN,b:4,24,54- sister-
11.- ALEXANDRA STRAIN, b: JANUARY 1939,- sister
12.- ALEXANDRU-DAN, GLODEANU,13. - ALEXANDRA,s son -
All three of them (# 10,11 &12). [illegible]
SAGULUI No 53, Bloc B, Scara B,Etaj 2,Apt 12, TIMISOARA,ROMANIA
Telefon:(961) 55270
They received " THE BIG FORMS" BUT THEY WERE TOLD THAT THEY
WILL NOT SEE THEIR SON & BROTHER DUMITRU STRAIN OF NEW YORK,
" NEVER AGAIN"!...

* * *

54.- JOHN STROIA
U.S.CITIZEN
c/o DUMITRU STRAIN
689 Seneca Ave # 3L
Ridgewood, NY 11.385
Phone(212)456-0923

1.- MARIOARA STRAIN, born on APRIL 2, 1954- FIANCEE-
Of: CALEA SAGULUI No 53, Bloc B, Scara B, Etaj 2,Apt 12,
TIMISOARA, ROMANIA(telefon:55-27-00)
- She received "THE BIG FORMS" but was told by SECURITY THAT
SHE WILL DO NOT SEE HER BROTHER DUMITRU STRAIN of New York
NEVER AGAIN! "...

He joined THE HUNGER STRIKE in DECEMBER 1983 in New York City & in WASHINGTON D.C.BUT HIS FIANCEE IS STILL HOSTAGE in COMMUNIST ROMANIA

* * *

* * *

9

5.- JOHN TANASE
686 Fairview Ave
Ridgewood, NY 11.385
POLITICAL REFUGEE
Phone(212) 565-0597
c/o
GEORGE MERSOVESCU
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- ANCA TANASE(Maiden Name COSEREANU) born on 10,11,53-wife-
Of-Bulevardul ION SULEA No 96,Bloc M 5 A, Scara B,Etaj 7,
Apt 75, Sector 3, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA, Telefon 73-6)-17 or
66-98-40 c/o her parents(COSEREANU)
Her application WAS REJECTED EIGHT TIMES SINCE 1983 TO DATE...

Mr JOHN TANASE JOINED THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE AND CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON "M.F.N" status to COMMUNIST ROMANIA in 1983, having his statement printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of HEARINGS. BUT HIS WIFE IS STILL HOSTAGE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-(He was 15 yeasr TEAM COMMANDER with TAROM (ROMANIAN STATE,s AIRLANE)- and defected to West Germany. He did reports to INTERNATIONAL MASS MEDIA on STATE SUPPORTED INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA and his COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT!...

* * *

56.- GHEORGHE SALA
c/o ION SALA(cousin)
17-21 Putnam Ave # 2R
Ridgewood, NY11.385
Phone(212)417-0671
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- MARIANA STEFF, born on DECEMBER 12,1959- fiancee-
Of: GURA -RAIULUI No 386 Judetul SIBIU, ROMANIA
She is harassed by SECURITY since 1980 Was threatened with confinement to PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL.TO DATE, JULY 17,1984 SHE HAS 20 REJECTIONS OF HER APPLICATION...

He joined THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES in NEW YORK CITY & IN WASHINGTON D.C in 1982 & 1983
His statements are printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS on "MFN" status to COMMUNIST ROMANIA
BUT HIS FIANCEE IS STILL HOSTAGE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA

* * *

7.- DANIELA THRIVER
Maiden Name ZABLAU-CAMPEANU
PERMANENT RESIDENT
8 NICOALE.ZABLAU-CAMPEANU(father)
9- SILVIA. ZABLAU-CAMPEANU(mother/
They joined THE ROMANIAN/
HUNGER STRIKE in New York/
City & Washington DC, on/
DECEMBER 1983.But their/
relatives are STILL HOSTAGES/
in COMMUNIST ROMANIA!... /

1.- CRISTIAN NICOLAE ZABLAU-CAMPEANU, born on 12,19,52- brother
NICOLAE & SILVIA,s SON & DANIELA,s BROTHER
2.- EUGENIA MARIANA, ZABLAU-CAMPEANU(M.N. PASCU)b:11,28,57his wife-
3- DRAGOS SILVIU, ZABLAU-CAMPEANU 3, - their son-
Of SOSEAUA MIHAI BRAVU No 294 Bloc 6 Scara C, Apt 92, Sector 3,
BUCURESTI, ROMANIA.- Telefon 74-24-74c/oSFETESCU family
They succeded to apply by OCTOBER 1983. To date JULY 24,1984 there is any word about their applications.-
4.- BUREBISTA URSU, M.S. b:3,20,49- cousin & nephew
5.- GABRIELA ANTOANETA, URSU(Maiden Name SZABO) b:7,13,47-his wife-
6.-RARES-MIHAIL, URSU,b:3,11,70- their son,14, -
Of: Strada AGRICULTORI No 32, Sector 2, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA
Telefon : 74-24-74 c/o SFETESCU family.

* * *

0.- ALEXANDRINA-VIORICA,ZANESCU,MS.-
1.- NADIA, ZANESCU,9,- daughter-
2.- RAFID.ZANESCU 7,- son
43-17,49th St # 4 B
Woodside, NY 11104
POLITICAL REFUGEE

1.-RODICA, POPESCU (Maiden Name ZANESCU)M.S,b:1,16,42-sister-
Of: Strda Profesor ION BOGDAN No 18,Sector 1, BUCURESTI,
ROMANIA.- Telefon:11,12-17
HER APPLICATION WAS REJECTED SIX TIMES SINCE 1982 to date.

She joined THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE & CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON"M.F.N" status to COMMUNIST ROMANIA in 1982 and 1983 BUT HER SISTER IS STILL HOSTAGE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-

* * *

63.- ROMICA TREMURICI
15-20 West,Winoda # 2
CHICAGO,ILL,60640
Phone(312)275-8569
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- MARIA FILIMON, born on AUGUST 8,1962- fiancee-
Of; USUSAUL de CRIS, Judetul BIHOR, ROMANIA
She applied in 1981. Since 1981 to date, July 24,1983, her application WAS REJECTED 14 TIMES!...
SHE WAS THREATENED WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL...

He joined THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES in CHICAGO, NEW YORK & WASHINGTON D.C. in 1981,1982 ,1983
His statements are included & printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of HERRINGS on "MFN" status to COMMUNIST ROMANIA. HIS FIANCEE MARIA FILIMON is STILL HOSTAGE in COMMUNIST ROMANIA...

* * *

4._ NICOLAE, TOADER   1.- ZENOVIA TOADER(maiden Name POBARU) born on JULY 13,1961-wife-
2.- ROXANA-LILIANA, TOADER,9,born on JULY 8,1974- daughter
Of: CARTIER CRISANA No 2,Bloc Z A 1,Scara 5 Apt 2, SLATINA, Judetul
OLT,ROMANIA

* * *

65.- Dr.NECHIT VINEREANU,M.D.   1.- VENERA NINEREANU, b:JULY 19,1950- daughter
18-23,GEORGE St # 3 R   2.- GABRIEL-MIHAI,VINEREANU,b:JULY 18,1973- son-
Ridgewood,NY 11.385   3.- VASILICA, MARIN(maiden Name MARIN) b:11,12,28- former wife and
Phone(212)821-5032   the mother of my above mentioned children.
U.S.CITIZENSHIP,Applicant/Residing together at:Bulevardul 1 Decembrie 1918,No 27,C, Bloc FM 75,
Eligible for by 6,18,83,-/Scara 1, Apt 9,Sector 3, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA- Telefon:74-10-01
Dr NECHIT VINEREANU,/   4.- TRAIAN VINEREANU, M.D, b:6,16,56- brother-
joined ROMANIAN HUNGER/   Of: Strada CIORANI No68,Comuna VAIDEENI,Cod 1063 Judetul VALCEA,
STRIKES, and CONGRESSIONAL/   ROMANIA.-
HEARINGS on "MFN" to /   5.- ANA BUSI, born on 1,26,58- friend
COMMUNIST ROMANIA, having/Of: Strada CIOCOI No 55, COMUNA VAIDEENI COD 1063,Judetul VALCEA,
his case printed on Con-/ ROMANIA.
gressional records about./UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE JUNE 20,1978
BUT HIS CHILDREN AND FORMER WIFE(MOTHER OF HIS CHILDREN) ARE STILL HOSTAGES in COMMUNIST
ROMANIA!...

* * *

66.- Prof. Dr. ALEXANDRU BRATU   1.- Prof. ILIE MARINESCU,born on JULY 2,1939- cousin
104-55,107th St   2.- MIRCEA MARINESCU,bornon NOV 18,1968- his son
Richmond Hill, N.Y.11.417   3.- GABRIELA,CRISTINA MARINESCU born onNOV 7,1969- his daughter
(212) 641-5008   Residing at CALEA GRIVITEI No 101 Sector6, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA
U.S.CITIZENSHIP APPLICANT   Tried to apply first time on JULY 1981,but received"THE BUTTERFLIES
Former 15 years POLITICAL   after several months HE WAS LAYD OFF FROM HIS JOB AS PROFESSOR IN
PRISONER in COMMUNIST   THE DAY WHEN APPLIED. FIRST REJECTION: JANUARY 1982
ROMANIA.   PERMANENTELY HARASSED BY SECURITY AND THREATENED WITH CONFINEMENT I
PRESIDENT of ROMANIAN   INTO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL.
NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR ELIBERATION.

* * *

* * *

SPOKESMAN of HUNGER STRIKERS

Dr.DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU
Writer with Pen Name: COSTIN JUREA
NOBEL,PRIZE NOMINEE FOR LITERATURE in 1972
16 YEARS POLITICAL PRISONER in COMMUNIST
ROMANIA,ePOLITICAL JAILS and into"THE CANAL
DANUBE-BLACK SEA"("THE CANAL of DEATH")
President of" THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL
COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"

DGApostoliu

IN HUNGER STRIKE"IN MEMORIAM" of:

1.- ELENA APOSTOLIU(Maiden Name HOFMAN)-MOTHER-
KILLED BY COMMUNIST SECURITY
in TIMISOARA City, ROMANIA,in 1954
2.- GHEORGHE D. APOSTOLIU,- FATHER-
KILLED BY COMMUNIST SECURITY
in CONSTANTA City in 1954
3.- GHEORGHE D. APOSTOLIU,- BROTHER -
Killed by STEFAN DUSA,the SECRETARY of
COMMUNIST PARTY of District of CONSTANTA
in CONSTANTA City,in 1947

2A / WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1984

A

INTERNATIONAL

Active policy urged to combat growing

TERRORISM REPORT / JOHN WOLF

The Defense Department Commission, formed to investigate the bombing of the U.S. Marine Corps headquarters in Beirut, determined that terrorism has become "tantamount to an act of war" and that the U.S. armed forces are ill-equipped to fight that kind of war.

The commission, chaired by retired Adm. L.J. Long, recommended that "the secretary of defense direct the development of doctrine, planning, organization, force structure, education and training necessary to defend against and counter terrorism."

Six Eastern European governments support terrorists: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania. They have been advised by the State Department that improved relations with the United States are contingent upon their willingness to cease aiding and abetting "international terrorists."

According to Secretary of State George Shultz, Iran, Syria, Libya and North Korea also are involved in "state-directed terrorism," a form of clandestine warfare that allows sponsoring states to act without fear of reprisal.

CIA Director William Casey calls government-sponsored terrorism "a new weapons system that obliterates the distinction between peace and war." There are 30 major terrorist groups and hundreds of "mom-and-pop shops" of terrorists for hire, he says.

Combating this form of terrorism "requires an active policy," since "a reactive policy only forfeits the initiative to the terrorists," the Long Commission advises. The Defense Department, the commission recommends, "needs to recognize the importance of state

it." Top U.S. political and military officials agree.

Currently, the Joint Chiefs of Staff are urging all of the services to find military solutions to terrorist attacks. Some analysts, emphasizing that successful antiterrorist operations must not be passive, suggest that the Pentagon bolster the Green Berets, Army units specially trained for counter-subversion warfare. They insist that irregular troops of this type, using irregular tactics, are the only military units currently trained and equipped to cope with the terrorist menace and recommend that these units be "beefed up."

> *Combating (government-spon sored terrorism) "requires an active policy," since "a reactive policy only forfeits the initiative to the terrorists."*

Noel Koch, deputy assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, agrees with this assessment. In an interview, he said that President Reagan and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger have said, "This simply has to be done." Former Deputy Secretary of Defense W. Paul Thayer concurs: "The revitalization of

Besides the Green Beret forces assigned special operation missions include the Army Rang battalions, the Navy sea-air-la (SEAL) teams, Marine reconnais battalions, and the Special Operations Wing of the Air Force. These forces, organized to conduct guerrilla and commando operations and trained for raids, sabotage and unconventional operations behind enemy lines, are intended "to project United States power where the use of conventional forces would be premature, inappropriate or infeasible."

Opposition to special forces

U.S. military officers, however, object to special operations, Koch said. He said they complain about the civilians "trying to tell us how to fight wars."

Traditionally, the admirals and generals who rely on mass forces are biased against elite units and object to initiatives from civilian specialists and officials. According to Koch, the headquarters staff of the services "are not comfortable with back-alley, twilight problems." He said they believe "fighting wars means 'mass,' period."

"They are consulting things to death," he said. "Someday we'll be gone and they'll still be consulting."

Meanwhile, the murders of U.S. diplomats and intelligence officials, attributed to the machinations of the Soviet Union, continue.

Influenced by an analysis indicating that leaders of the anticommunist world can be fixed in time and place — a scheduled motorcade, political rally — the

B

New York Tribune

state-backed terrorism

UPI

BEIRUT: A wounded U.S. Marine is rescued from the ruins of the Marine Corps headquarters last October. The Defense Department commission, created to investigate the bombing, determined that terrorism has become "tantamount to an act of war," and that the U.S. armed forces are ill-equipped to fight that kind of war.

sures" — sabotage, assassination, terrorism.

Viktor Suvorov, a defector from the Red Army, recently was interviewed for an article published by *International Defense Review*. He mentions that the killers are members of Spetsnaz — the Russian acronym for "special purpose." They have been assigned the task of finding and killing Western political and military leaders if war between the superpowers erupts.

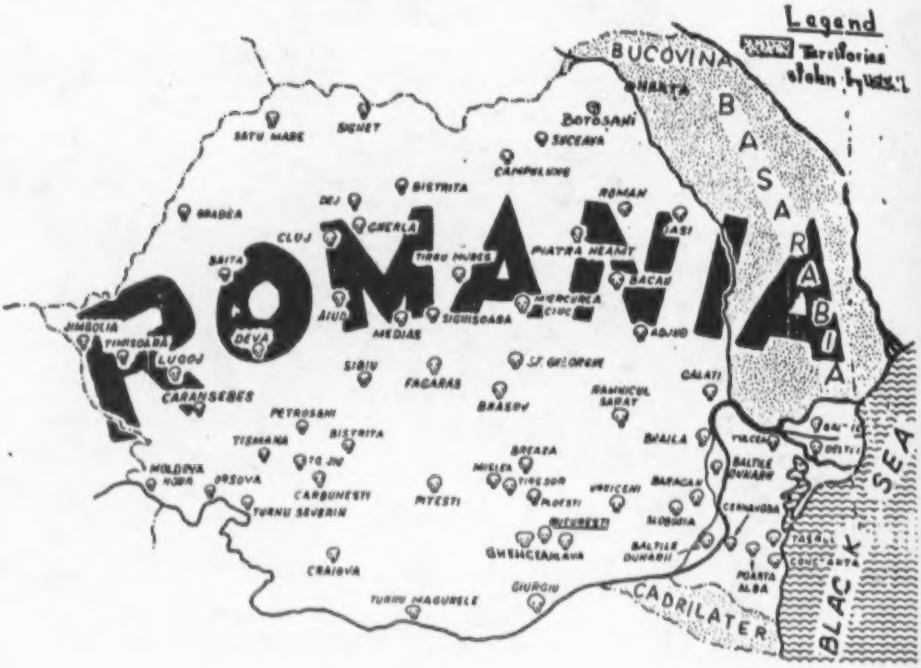
not, and probably should not, be a part of the military services. Cadres of former police officers, particularly those experienced in combating urban terrorists or unraveling drug networks, are better suited for this task. They understand warfare in the back alleys and the mentality of those who wage it.

These units must have access to the intelligence needed to perform a particular clandestine task and be directly supervised by the head

special operations units might be placed under the jurisdiction of the National Security Council, where their activities could be monitored to ensure compliance with presidential directives and accountability for their actions.

Once these units are placed under the direct control of the head of state, the intelligence services would be freed from the shenanigans associated with managing a group that the media view as

MAP OF LOCATIONS OF POLITICAL PRISONS, SLAVE AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA


Legend
Territories stolen by U.S.S.R.
BUCOVINA
BASARABIA
ROMANIA
SATU MARE
SIGHET
BOTOSANI
SUCEAVA
CAMPULUNG
BISTRITA
DEJ
ORADEA
GHERLA
CLUJ
ROMAN
IASI
BAITA
TIRGU MURES
PIATRA NEAMT
BACAU
MIERCUREA CIUC
AIUD
MEDIAS
SIGHISOARA
ADJUD
JIMBOLIA
TIMISOARA
LUGOJ
DEVA
SIBIU
FAGARAS
SF. GHEORGHE
GALATI
CARANSEBES
BRASOV
RAMNICUL SARAT
PETROSANI
TISMANA
BISTRITA
BRAILA
TG. JIU
BREAZA
MOLDOVA NOUA
ORSOVA
CARBUNESTI
MISLEA
TIRGSOR
PLOESTI
URZICENI
BARAGAN
BALTILE DUNARII
TURNU SEVERIN
PITESTI
BUCURESTI
SLOBOZIA
CERNAVODA
GHENCEA
JILAVA
BALTILE DUNARII
TASAUL
CONSTANTA
POARTA ALBA
CRAIOVA
GIURGIU
TURNU MAGURELE
CADRILATER
BLACK SEA

THESE ARE THE PLACES OF COMMUNIST ROMANIAN GENOCIDE

These are the places where millions of workers and farmers . . . men, women and children . . . have been killed with or without trial, with savage cruelty, or driven to death by forced labor.

The only 'crime' of millions of these victims was their religion, or their social or political beliefs or desire for individual and national freedom; their just ambition to be master, not slave, on their own ethnic territory; or simply because they were not Communists.

These are the places where millions of unsung heroes were tortured, killed and buried . . .

In Communist Romania every honest person is sure to go to jail.

The voices of the martyrs ask:

IS PEACE NOT FREEDOM AND JUSTICE FOR ALL?

THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

news world forum

Soviets step up espionage in a 'zero-security' U.S.

ALLAN C.
BROWNFELD

As the FBI and other law enforcement agencies operate under increasing legal restraints, there is widespread evidence that Soviet espionage in the United States is mounting.

In January 1981, David H. Barnett, a former CIA operative, was sentenced to 18 years in prison for selling intelligence secrets to the Soviets for $92,600. Among other things, Barnett revealed the names of 30 CIA undercover agents, several foreign CIA collaborators and details of a CIA undercover operation known as HA BRINK, then "one of the highest priority operations," according to the Justice Department.

Because of Barnett, Justice Department officials said, the Soviets probably have issued tactical orders to counter the U.S. Navy's knowledge about how long Soviet submarines can stay submerged.

The Barnett case does not stand alone. Recently, three other cases have become known of Americans who sold secret documents to Soviet intelligence: William Kampiles, Andrew Lee and Christopher Boyce. In addition, there have been reports of the death of the top U.S. spy in the Kremlin—code-named Trigon—whose cover may have been blown by a White House official's careless remark at a Washington diplomatic party.

Scandal developing?

Columnist Jack Anderson reports that, "What the public doesn't know is that a major spy scandal may be developing, its proportions unmatched since the exposes that rocked the country after World War II. The Justice Department is investigating several cases involving leaks of sensitive information to the Soviets by U.S. officials and private individuals. . . . Some Carter administration officials are under investigation by the Justice Department for suspected espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union. One source said that there are files on 'at least three such cases,' and there may be as many as half a dozen. . . ."

A ranking Romanian diplomat who defected last February has reportedly given CIA debriefers the details of a wide ranging Soviet espionage operation based in the Romanian Embassy in Washington. Code-named "Liberty," the network was designed to penetrate the federal government at various levels. Each target had a code name. Congress was "Oregon," the White House was "Amazon," and the State Department was "Iowa." Informed sources report that the Romanian diplomat had easy access to a number of U.S. senators and that a former Senate staff member provided intelligence to Romania.

Nuclear testing signals

At the present time, the Defense Intelligence Agency is concerned that a Soviet "mole" may have penetrated to the highest levels of the U.S. government, and now has access to closely held White House information. A top-secret DIA report, which was leaked to the press recently, concluded that "a definite change in the Soviet underground nuclear test program occurred in 1978 toward testing increasingly higher yield devices."

The significance of this change, intelligence specialists note, is that it occurred shortly after the U.S. secretly changed its method of measuring Soviet nuclear tests in such a way that the Soviets could explode bigger bombs without violating existing treaties. DIA analysts decided this was "more than coincidence," and pointed to the possibility that information about the new measuring system had been leaked to the Kremlin by one of the few high U.S. officials who knew about it.

Columnist Paul Scott charges that there has been "deep penetration of the Carter administration by the KGB." He argues, in addition, that, "The FBI turned over to the Justice Department more than a half dozen cases involving secret contacts between known operators of the KGB and the White House staff and U.S. intelligence employees. The most intriguing fact about the Barnett spy case was the White House's decision . . . to leak details . . . as a cover for the far more damaging cases of KGB penetration of the White House and its National Security staff."

The New York Times reports that, "Federal officials familiar with Soviet intelligence activities say that the KGB had made an increased effort in recent years to gain access both to government secrets and to sensitive technological information in the hands of private industry."

Arkady Shevchenko, the highest ranking Soviet official to defect to the West who held the post of undersecretary general of the United Nations, states that "at least 50 percent" of Soviet personnel at the United Nations "one way or another, are working for Soviet intelligence. And, of course, there is counter-intelligence, because they even follow all Soviets who work abroad."

Zero security

As Soviet espionage has grown, the role of the FBI and the CIA has been seriously diminished. For example, it is now the Civil Service Commission—not the FBI—which is responsible for investigating applicants for sensitive government positions. It is now illegal for investigators to ask about an applicant's membership in radical organizations. Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, states: "We have approached the status of a zero-security society. Our law enforcement agencies have been stripped of much of their ability to deal with domestic subversion and espionage."

Asked about the Soviet reaction to restrictions placed upon the FBI and CIA, Shevchenko said: "They're most happy about that. The more U.S. intelligence is restricted, the more possibilities the KGB or GRU have to do whatever they want. . . . The FBI should be strengthened. There is no other way. If you face all the activities of the Soviets, which are huge . . . the U.S. really needs a very strong hand to resist Soviet subversive operations." Has the KGB been encouraging the campaign against U.S. intelligence agencies? He replies: "No doubt about that. It's part of their disinformation."

In recent years, the American guard has been lowered. Today we are, more and more, naked before our enemies. The new Congress and the new administration should consider raising that guard a high priority for the nation's agenda.

Tuesday
January 18,1983
New York City, Volume VIII No. 15
The News World

GEORGE HIRSOVESCU
OF NEW YORK
HUNGER STRIKE

Shinya Nakamura — News World

George Hirsovescu, a former Romanian pilot, began a hunger strike on Dec. 30 to win permission for his wife and daughter to leave Romania.

Romania trains Angola guerrillas, defector claims

By Gerrit J. van Dorsten
SPECIAL TO THE NEWS WORLD

Since 1979, Romania has trained Angolans in guerrilla warfare at camps in Romania and then sent them back to Africa, a Romanian defector has told The News World.

George Hirsovescu, 33, is a former Romanian pilot, who flew the guerrillas every three or four months between Bucharest and Luanda, Angola. He said he often carried Angolans to military aviation schools and had flown many shipments of weapons to different places in Africa.

Hirsovescu was a civilian pilot for the state airline,Tarom, from 1970 until he defected Aug. 7, 1981, in Frankfurt, West Germany.

He had kept silent about Romanian intervention in Africa, he said, because he feared for his wife and daughter who are still living in Romania.

(see DEFECTOR, page 12A)

DEFECTOR

FROM PAGE 1A

But after beginning a hunger strike Dec. 30 in front of the United Nations — for the right of his wife Cleopatra and daughter Paula Monica Virginia to leave Romania — he decided to speak out about his experiences, despite threats from an official at Romania's U.N. mission that Hirsovescu never would see his family again.

African guerrilla recruits were instructed by special troops of the Romanian army in military camps in Mihai Bravu near Tirgoviste, he said. The trainees — from 18 to 35 years old — drilled for a period of three to four months.

"Every three, four months Romania sent two airplanes, — another one and mine — each bringing over 166 recruits," he said, adding he took the same recruits back after they had completed their training.

"In Angola as well as in Romania the guerrillas were secretly smuggled aboard," he said.

Hirsovescu told The News World the flights went from Bucharest via Cairo and Khartoum to Luanda.

Youths trained as pilots

Besides guerrilla training, Romania also instructed 18-year-olds as fighter pilots, he noted.

They received three years training at the Aurel Vlaicu Military Acadamy in the village of Bobocu near Buzau, under the leadership of Gen. Man. Tataranu, he said.

In 1979, under the leadership of Gen. Maj. Nitulescu Aurel, Romania founded a similar air academy in Angola, three miles northwest of Luanda, Hirsovescu claimed.

He said there were some 100 Romanian instructors in this academy; approximately 500 Romanian soldiers guarded the base, which supported about 50 airplanes used to train Angolan fighter pilots. Hirsovescu listed the types of planes as IAR 826s, IAR 836s, Czechoslovakia's EL 29s and Soviet Mig 15s and AN 24s.

He said he made a total of 15 flights to transport weapons to Africa. The total number of Romanian flights is in the hundreds, he said, with every flight bringing over 18 tons of weapons.

He remembered having flown weapons to Bengazi in Libya, Bujumbura in Burundi, Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, Sa'ana in North Yemen, Luanda in Angola and Bangui in the Central African Republic.

Not a weapons expert, he described the shipments as "machine guns and rifles from the WW II period."

Food used as payment

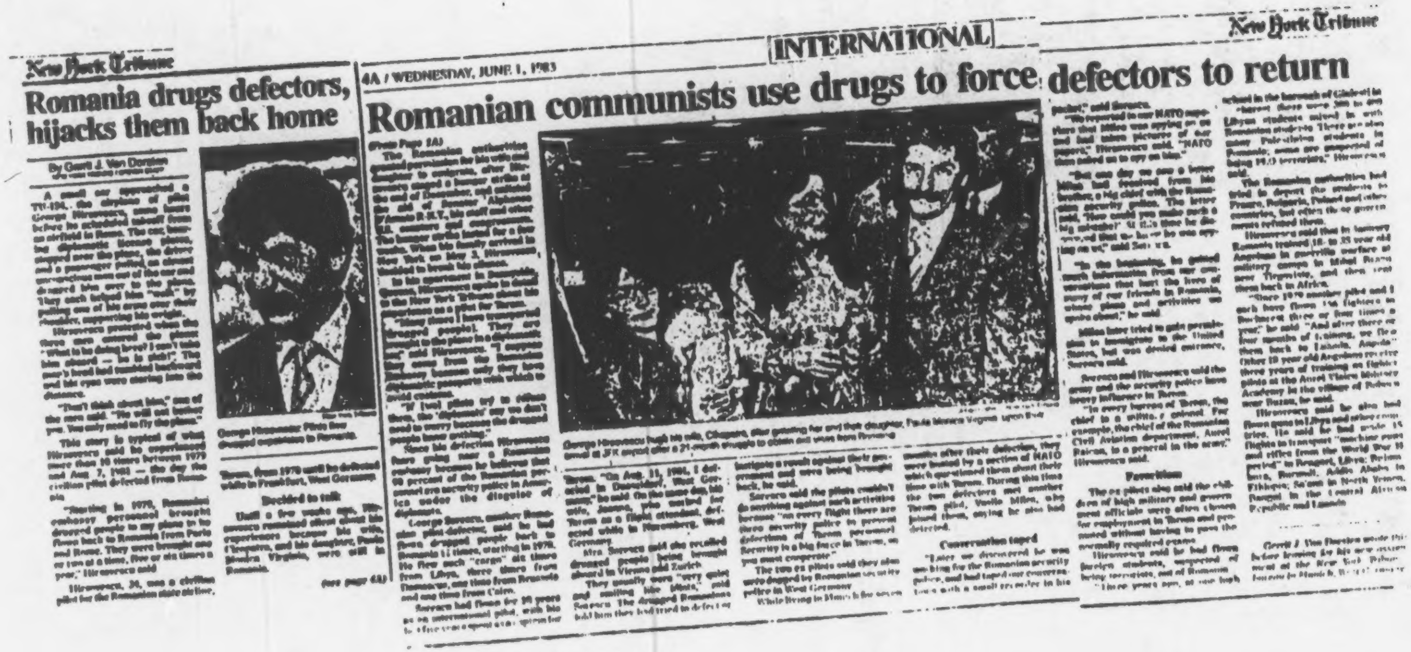
The ex-pilot said from 1979 till August 1981 he had also flown many shipments of food, which were Romania's payments for fuel imported from Arabian countries.

"While the people in Romania were starving," he charged, "the government paid for fuel with food because they were lacking foreign currency."

He said each night 13 to 15 planes flew live sheep and hundreds of tons of meat from Bucharest to the following cities: Abu Dhabi and Dubai in the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Amman, Jordan, Teheran, Beirut and Algiers.

Although he had chalked up a total of 5,000 flight hours -- 4,000 in jets — and was well paid by Romanian standards, Hirsovescu said he had defected because, "I had no freedom" even though he earned much money as a pilot.

"After each flight I had to give a detailed report about the [personal] activities of my crew and in



New York Tribune

Romania drugs defectors, hijacks them back home

By Gerrit J. Van Dorsten

Decided to talk

(see page 4A)

4A / WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1, 1983

INTERNATIONAL

New York Tribune

Romanian communists use drugs to force defectors to return

(From Page 1A)

Conversation taped

Favoritism

U.S. Christian booted out on Romania visit; grilled by state police

By Charles Cavanaugh
NEWS WORLD STAFF

A retired Baptist preacher has been expelled from Romania by the secret police — the first incident of the expulsion of an American from that country in recent years.

Dr. Curtis Nims, 70, formerly a Baptist preacher, gave an account of his experience yesterday in his first public statement since he was ordered out of Romania two weeks ago.

Nims, a member of the executive board of International Christian Aid, spoke at a midtown news conference. He said he had gone with a group of associates to Romania to look into reports of persecution and torture of Christians, and to examine whether $250,000 in food and medical aid that ICA wants to deliver to Romania could be gotten into the hands of the people who need it.

On Jan. 11, one day before he was to travel to Ploesti to observe the trial of 13 Christians accused of bringing Bibles into the country, Nims was picked up in his hotel in Bucharest by agents of the secret police.

"A small problem with your visa," the agents said, insisting that he accompany them for a "conversation" about it.

They refused to allow him to telephone the American embassy, but they assured him that he was not being arrested, "You'll be back in 30 minutes."

He did manage to tell his friends

(Continued on page 14A)

Dr. Curtis Nims, 70, a retired Baptist preacher, tells of his experienc expelled from Romania. It was the first such incident in that countr in many years.

ROMANIA

FROM PAGE 1A

what was happening and ask them to make the call. "Strange things have happened to people [while in the custody of agents of the Romanian government] so I wanted the embassy to know where I was," he said.

The 30-minute conversation became three hours of rigorous interrogation, during which Nims was queried not about his visa but rather about his connections with various "active believers," including Klaus Wagner, a Romanian caught smuggling in Bibles, and Ioan Teodosiu, an evangelical Christian arrested in December and charged with espionage. They also accused Nims of slandering Romania over Radio Free Europe.

When it was over, they ordered him to leave the country within 48 hours, which Nims agreed to do.

Very early the next morning, the agents came again to his hotel and ordered him to pack his things to depart immediately.

When he protested that they were violating their own agreement allowing him 48 hours, it was explained to him that "the mind has been changed." Again he was refused permission to contact the embassy.

'Communists afraid'

The sole reason given by authorities for his abrupt expulsion from Romania, said the white-haired Nims, was that he "had associated with the wrong people, — bad people. He said, "The communists are afraid of believers."

According to John Crossley, director of the Pennsylvania-based East Watch International and a speaker at the press conference, "Romania is the best documented case of institutionalized religious persecution since the signing of the Helsinki Accords. And yet, Romania continues to enjoy 'Most Favored Nation' status in its economic relations with the United States."

The News World
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1982

THE CHURCH IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA IS RULED BY ATHEISTS

There is Anti-Communist Anti-Christian Terror in all Communist Countries but more so in Communist Romania or as it is called The Socialist Republic of Romania.

O R

During the last years of Communist rule thousands and thousands of innocent people have been arrested, tortured and sent to jail or concentration camps for their religious beliefs. Thousands and thousands of them were killed in a most fearful way without being brought to trial or being found guilty. Many of the victims were clergymen of all denominations who refused to submit to Communist ideology and methods, preferring death rather than serve godless tyrants!

Needless to say that the Communist regime of Romania is one of the harshest enemies of all Churches: Orthodox, Jewish, Moslem, Adventists, Protestants, Pentecostalists, etc.

Old, historical Churches were closed and destroyed, or converted into warehouses or prisons. But when the Communists discovered their value as 'Tourist' attractions, they repaired them and opened them to the tourist trade to bring in badly needed US dollars and other foreign currency to use for Communist propaganda.

The Romanian Communists label 'fascists' all those who are for religious liberty regardless of race, ethnic origin or religion.

Some of the country's religious leaders of all denominations, (be their rank simple priest, bishop or archbishop) are sent abroad on Spying or other missions by the Romanian Communist party. Their mission is to undermine our country, and instigate deceit and confusion under their cloaks and pious beards.

TORTURED FOR CHRIST

This is the truth about Romania and we should be aware and fight against Communism if we want to preserve our freedom and our faith in God here in America.

New York, N. Y

THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

COMMITTEE OF TRANSYLVANIA, INC.

Founded 1956

LOUIS L. LÖTE
P.O. BOX 10069
Rochester, N.Y. 14610
Telephone: (716) 288-2014

Central Office:
2808 East 124th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44120

STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF TRANSYLVANIA, INC. IN CONNECTION OF A PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION TO CONTINUE THE WAIVERS APPLICABLE TO THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF RUMANIA AND TO EXTEND THE WAIVER AUTHORITY UNDER THE TRADE ACT OF 1974.

The question at the hearing is to decide whether Rumania has lived up to its obligation under the Trade Act of 1974,i.e.whether it provided free flow of emigration out of Rumania in the last year or not. Emigration is one of the most elementary human rights. The Trade Act does not serve necessarily American interest because the emigrants resettle not only in the United States but in any other country which is desired by the emigrant and which is ready to accomodate this desire.

If it is human rights that moved the law makers in 1974, why narrow down the benefit of American protection to a selected, relatively small number of people, the emigrants, and why not extend to all the people who's human rights are consistently violated.

The ruling majority nation of a country is usually able to protect its interest except in countries with government which does not believe in individual freedom, democracy and human rights, and managed to concentrate all the power in one political party and the political police. With this type of political system those not belonging to the majority nation, the national minorities, are totally exposed to the caprice, mercy or chauvinistic excesses of the government, what ever may be the case.

This is the predicament in which 2.5 million Hungarians in Rumania live their daily life and which is getting worse as the years pass.

The human rights abuses against Hungarians have alarmingly increased in the last two years . Some examples follow:

1/ Arrests, beatings, police brutality, house searches without court warrant of Hungarian intellectuals became usual news from Rumania. From Geza Szocs, Attila Kertesz, Attila Ara-Kovacs,Karoly Toth and his wife who were arrested, beaten up, rearrested and again beaten up toward the end of 1982, as suspected editors of the Hungarian samizdat newspaper in Transylvania, through Bela Pal, a teacher in Ditrau/Ditro convicted to 6 years in prison because "he wanted to overthrow the socialist order" , alleged by the court without any details, (May 1983), Erno Borbely, gravely ill history teacher convicted for 6 years of unknown charges, Laszlo Buzas, convicted for 6 years also of un known charges , Arpad Visky, actor of the State Theater in Sfintu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyorgy, convicted for 5 years of alleged "offending an armed agent", and house searches held at the home of scores of Hungarian intellectuals, all these cases witness that Bucharest intensified its anti-Hungarian measures, in 1984.

2/ Father Geza Palfi, a Hungarian roman catholic priest in Odorhei/Szekelyudvarhely was beaten up by policemen and "tortured to death because he protested against the fact that December 25 had been declared a working day". (The quotation is taken from a report of the May 22 session of European Parliament in Strasbourg which paid tribute to Rev. Palfi. He died in the hospital of Tirgu Mures/Marosvasarhely, in March 1984.)

3/ Admission of Hungarian students to the only Hungarian university (as part of the Babes-Bolyai Rumanian-Hungarian institutions forcibly merged in 1958), in Cluj/Kolozsvar was radically decreased to only five percent, according to a report of the Times (London) June 6 issue. This measure is a deadly blow to the Hungarian higher education in Rumania where Hungarians make up an estimated one-third of the total population, in the formerly Hungarian province of Transylvania.

4/ The London Times also report of the firing of several Hungarian theater directors who were "planning to celebrate the centennary of the architect", culture historian and a highly respected Hungarian leader in Transylvania who died recently at the age of 97, Karoly Kos.

5/ Hungarian schools in Transylvania have been dissolved by the dozens and pupils are forced to attend Rumanian schools. This is according to Rumanian official data analyzed by us.

6/ The Transylvanian Hungarian Reformed (Calvinist) Church comprising almost half of the total Hungarian population has been plagued by drastic restriction of the yearly new admittance of theology students. For the needed 30 new students in 1980 only 7 and in 1981 only 6 students were admitted out of some 60 applicants. Hungarian theologians who by hundreds had studied in Netherland, Germany and Switzerland in the 16-18th centuries, are now, in the 20th century, not permitted to study abroad even though scholarships are available. (See The Reformed Church of Rumania under Oppression", the report of Religion in the 2nd world, a Swis periodical for religious freedom and human rights. Appendix no.1.)

In view of these conditions which are just samples of human right abuses of Transylvanian Hungarians, the Rumanian government seems to increase its misinformation activity to mislead free western governments, foreign and economic policy makers by misrepresenting the plight of national minorities. For instance, The Truth about the National Question in Rumania, an official Rumanian publication (1982) which I thoroughly examined, is misrepresenting the facts of oppression by twisting-turning them into benevolent treatment for the uninformed reader. Some samples:

a/ If there is some legal basis for the equality of rights irrespective of natonality, "there are major differences between Rumanian law and the nations' international commitments on the one hand and the Government's internal practices on the other" (Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982, page 983).

b/ Hungarian schools have been closed up consistently. Comparing Rumanian official data of the schoolyears 1955/56 with that of 1982/83 shows that the ratio of Hungarian children in Kindergarten decreased from 14% to 6%, in primary and secondary education from 9% to 6%, and in highschools from% to 4%. But the official ratio of the Hungarian inhabitants to the population of entire Rumania was 7.9 at the last cebsus in 1977, and 11.6% by our and other foreign estimates. In technical highschools there are no Hungarian sections at all and no Hungarian textbooks.

c/ Hungarian TV broadcast hour has decreased in the last 6 years and to match the population overall ratio, at least three times as much broadcast hours would be needed as there are now.

For more detail see comments on The Truth about the National Question in Rumania. Appendix 2.

In conclusion I attempt to very briefly highlight the peculiarities of the Hungarian siutation in Rumania as compared with those of other national minorities, such as Germans, and Jews.

The Germans are now permitted to emigrate by the 10,000 a year to West Germany even with financial sacrifices for the benefit of Rumania. (I note that for 800 years in Hungarian reign Germans felt well and at home in Transylvania were they resettled with the permission of Hungarian kings in the 12th century.)

Jewish emigration out of Rumania seems to be the proper solution for the overwhelming majority of Rumanian Jews. This emigration is assured by American law and American care for monitoring the process by the House Committee of Ways and Means, and other agencies.

Two and a half million Hungarians in Rumania cannot be accepted by small Hungary and the Transylvanian Hungarians by and large do not want to abandon their homeland for more than a thousand years.

Who should help them in their precarious situation ? Logically those powers which put them in their misery, who at the peacetreaties of Trianon (1919) and Paris (1947) denied them the right that President Wilson heralded for Europe, the right for national self-determination, and who totally missed to safeguard their survival in hostile and chauvinistic Rumania. Our country was one of the signatories in 1947.

My concret proposal is to give Hungarian-American Transylvanian leaders the chance to discuss this problem and work out ways and means for solution.

August 14, 1984

Louis L Lote

Louis L. Lote
president,
Committee of Transylvania,Inc.

The Reformed Church of Rumania Under Oppression

Religion in the 2nd World (Glaube in der 2. Welt)

A Swiss periodical for religious freedom and human rights (1984/Vol. 12, No. 2.) (Translated from German original)

INTRODUCTION

For several years alarming news have reached us from Transylvania which belongs to Rumania since 1918. Since the modest autonomy granted to Transylvanian Hungarians in the early fifties was rescinded in a few years after, the around two million strong (officially "only" 1.7 million) Hungarian minority, found itself exposed to an ever growing pressure, above all in schools where the usage of the mother tongue is brutally restricted or, as for example with the vocational high schools, totally eliminated.

RELATIONS TO SWITZERLAND

About one million Hungarians belong to the Reformed Church in Rumania whose official creed is the Second Helvetian Confession of Faith besides the Heidelberg Catechism. With the reformator of Zürich, Heinrich Bullinger Hungarian reformeds maintained an especially good relation. The epistles of Bullinger addressed to the Hungarian Christians were published in 1559 in Kolozsvár (Cluj/Klausenburg) under the title "Libellus epistolaris", and the influence of Calvin and his successor, Theodor de Bèze became soon decisive in Transylvania. The relations of the Transylvanian-Hungarian reformeds to their Swiss brethren remained very intensive and cordial further on in the course of history which is shown by the visits of the University of Basel by numerous Transylvanian theology students in the 17th—19th centuries. Some of them became well-known scholars and churchleaders. A significant occurence of this "Eastcontact" of the Swiss Reformed Church was the visit of Karl Barth in Cluj in 1936 and his appointment as honorary professor of the Theology of Cluj/Kolozsvár a year later. The friendly connections between the Swiss and Transylvanian reformeds continue still to day.

The Hungarian Christians in Rumania, whether Protestants or Catholics, have to live today under therefold pressure: to the general pressure of the militant-atheist State, that shows direct Stalinist features in the Rumanian internal policies (in contrast to foreign policy), the suppression of a national minority by the nationalisticly influenced majority is added which uses the power of the totalitarian Rumanian state against them. The third factor of suppression derives from the unpleasant situation of a religious minority vis-a-vis the predominance of the Rumanian Orthodox Church to which almost all the Rumanians belong (79% of the population) by birth and therefore practically enjoys the privileges of a state church since that church from long time on has been the carrier of Rumanian national feelings and nationalism.

The Reformed Church in Rumania is one of the largest reformed minority churches of Europe. Its round one million members live mostly in a geographically closed territory (Siebenbürgen/Transylvania) that are organized in two bishoprics or districts each led by a bishop. The district of Cluj (Kolozsvár) comprises 8 diocess, the district of Oradea (Nagyvárad/Grosswardein) 6. We talk about a very lively church: the church members are faithful which is manifested by relatively high attendance at the services and an astonishingly great readiness to sacrifices and personal involvement.

THE STATE LIMITS ADMITTANCE OF THEOLOGY STUDENTS

The greatest problem of the Reformed Church in Rumania is the difficulty in replacing retired clergymen due to the drastic reduction of the quotas for theology students by the State. Out of 772 ministerial positions already in 1979 49 were vacant. The brutal restriction of the yearly new admittance of reformed theology students (in 1977 there were 34, 1978 30, 1979 15, 1980 7 and 1981 6) signifies that the entire existence of the Reformed Church in Rumania is in danger, and due to natural losses, it faces the total liquidation of its present structure within one generation.

The re-establishment of the original 30 to 34 new admissions would be absolutely necessary. In applicants there is no shortage: some 60 young reformeds apply to theology studies but up to 90% have to be refused which is felt in protestant-church circles especially painful. Even more shocking is for them the discrimination in favor of the Orthodox Church which presently has about 1000 theology students in priest seminaries so that their supply in priests is assured more than adequately.

The second main complaint of the reformed Christians in Transylvania concerning replacement of ministers is the restriction for studies abroad of young theologians. Since the time of Reformation studying at West-European protestant theologies was a solid ingredient in the education of Transylvanian reformed ministers. Alone in the Holland universities several hundred Transylvanian reformed theology students had studied in the 17th and 18th centuries. Due to the hostile attitude of the catholic Habsburg-Monarchy most of these students had to make a difficult detour through Poland and Prussia on foot or by boat etc. in order to reach Western Europe. Today, on the contrary, in the era of excellent travel facilities and with intensive oecumenical connections it is seen as a sensation if once in a great while a reformed theology student is permitted to go abroad for a year of study, even though that students from Transylvania are awaited with generous scholarships not only in Western Europe but also in North America (Princeton etc.). But only ministers with completed studies and with family are considered for permission (the family as "pawns" must stay in Rumania), at most two students a year. Looking back at the last three decades shows that in most of the years no studying in foreign countries was granted for reformeds from Rumania

(Continued on Page 8)

states. In conclusion in Part V. (Sixty Years After) — essays of Frank Koszorus, Jr., Michael Sozan, Andres Ludanyi, Karoly Nagy and George Schopflin present to the reader the plight of to day Hungarians who became inhabitants of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

THE REFORMED CHURCH OF RUMANIA UNDER OPPRESSION

(Continued from Page 5)

In comparison, the Orthodox Church of Rumania could and can send at least 30 theology students a year to Western Europe and America, thank mostly to generous protestant scholarships; two of them study at Princeton right now.

It would be extremely desirable if the Rumanian government would rescind these painful and discriminating measures against a religious and linguistic minority, firstly by reestablishing the quota of reformed students in the Institute of Theology of Cluj (Kolozsvár) for the full earlier amount (at least 30 new admissions a year), secondly by permitting the for Transylvania traditional studies of theology students in foreign countries in the desired number. The present situation is an affront against the most elementary human rights and cannot be taken by the reformed world public opinion not at last also on the part of the Swiss reformeds.

TORTURED TO DEATH, REV. GÉZA PALFI HONORED IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

On the May 22 session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, Lord Bethel, representative of the United Kingdom, introduced a resolution on human rights and on paying tribute to Rev. Geza Palfi, "a Hungarian priest in Transylvania tortured to death because he protested against the fact that December 25 had been declared a working day." The resolution was adopted. (See our Special Bulletin)

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PRESS REVIEW

Hungary, Romania quarrel over Transylvania

The following UPI news was published in The Gulf News, a newspaper of a small Persian Gulf country, Dubayy. It must have appeared in American newspapers, too, but the fact that an Arabian small state printed it, could signify that the plight of Transylvanian Hungarians awakes not only American and European, but also world wide interest. (The Editor)

SIGHISOARA, Romania (UPI) — Hungary and Romania have both won U.S. praise for their independent policies within the East Bloc, but the two Communist allies are uneasy neighbours.

They have two of the most different social, political and economic systems in the Warsaw Pact. Moreover, friction builds over the estimated two million ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania, the wedgeshaped western third of Romania bounded by the Carpathian Mountains.

The Transylvanian Hungarians are the largest ethnic minority in Europe. They comprise more than a quarter of the region's population and almost one tenth of Romania's total 22.5 million.

Hungarians accuse Romania of discriminating against them. Romanians accuse Hungary of wanting to annex Transylvania, which it owned until after World War I.

Historians from each country present contradictory versions of the region's history. The complex, sensitive issues have sparked emigre lobbying, dissident agitation, local nationalism and official polemics which have soured relations between the two governments.

"Economic cooperation has increased but as a whole, Hungarian-Romanian relations have not developed, but stagnated, and in certain areas a decline has been experienced," senior Hungarian official Matyas Szuros said on Budapest Radio recently.

A Romanian official described relations as "a bit faded."

Transylvania is a backdrop to vivid contrasts between the two countries in general, including a dramatic difference in foreign policy, living standards and attitude towards individual human rights.

Hungary is no paradise, but it is the richest and most open society within the East Bloc. Romania is probably the poorest and most controlled.

Hungarians hearing someone is about to travel to Romania are apt to clutch their hearts in exaggerated distress, make a face and urge the traveller, "take food, take food."

Budapest, Hungay's capital, boasts well-stocked shops, Western goods, neon lights and fancy hotels. Bucharest, Romania's capital, suffers food and fuel shortages, rationing and streets darkened by power cuts.

Hungary does have major economic problems, but it encourages private enterprise and innovations to supplement Communism. In Romania, virtually everything is state-controlled.

Hungary, under low-key Communist Party leader Janos Kadar, takes pains to follow the Soviet line in foreign policy. Russian troops are stationed on its soil.

Romania has created an overwhelming personality cult around President Nicolae Ceausescu and is proud of his independent foreign policy stand, which officials value more than Hungary's relative prosperity. There are no foreign troops in Romania.

Yet it is in Budapest that Western newspapers are readily available at hotel newstands. They are not to be found in Bucharest.

In Budapest, activists in the relatively small dissident movement — which has made the plight of Hungarians in Romania one of its key platforms—are harrassed by police but meet openly with Westerners. Ordinary Hungarians seem to feel few qualms about speaking their minds.

In Romania, all typewriters must be registered—an apparent attempt to prevent underground publications, citizens are required to report on all contacts with foreigners and the security system is pervasive and visible.

"Hungary looks to the West," said a Romanian. "But here . . ." he made a sign like blinkers on his eyes.

Modern differences and ancient ethnic rivalries alike are most focused on Transylvania, with its ethnix mix and complicated history of shifting borders.

Hungarians accuse Romania of discriminating against the minority in education, cultural affairs, job opportunities and political representation.

Western sources say the Romanian authorities fear Hungary's relative liberalism may spill across the border, along with discontent over contrasting living standards. Hungarians thus complain it is "virtually impossible" to buy newspapers from Hungary in Transylvania.

"Can you tell me why things are different in Budapest than here?" said a Romanian. "Why can you buy things there and not here? why, why is it one way there, another here?"

Romania vehemently denies discrimination against any ethnic minority.

"The Hungarians in Transylvania are not living in a ghetto. They are mixed in with the Romanians," said an official in Bucharest. "If Romanians had a better standard of living, then so would the Hungarians in Transylvania. When you are in the same room, you both feel the same temperature."

CARPATHIAN
OBSERVER

CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS

Vol. 11. No. 2. Winter 1983—1984

THE TRUTH ABOUT "THE TRUTH . . ."

COMMENTS ON A RUMANIAN BOOKLET ON NATIONALITIES

A new Rumanian official booklet on the nationalities of Rumania reached many of our readers during 1983, among them — we believe — many members of the US Congress. To our knowledge the booklet was distributed by the Rumanian embassy, obviously in an attempt to influence our legislators to support the extension of the most-favored-nation tariff rate for Rumania, and — in general — to try to polish Rumania's tarnished image in Washington.

It is important to know whether the allegations of the booklet are based on the true facts, or are they slanted a little of significantly. As any means used for influencing those whose voice is thought to be decisive, so this booklet, too, should be examined for credibility. A thorough analysis of the book's content set against the known and verified facts of life with regard to the national minorities of Rumania should be the judge of credibility. That's why our research was conducted and that's why our findings and comments are being published in this issue of the Carpathian Observer.

We strongly believe that those of our readers who had the opportunity to read the Rumanian booklet, should have also the chance to see the other side of the coin.

We note that our research covers only the Hungarian nationality of Rumania which is the largest one in the area, estimated to be 2.5 million strong.

The Editor

IN THIS ISSUE:

Comments on "The Truth about the National Question in Rumania", an official Rumanian publication.

•

The 77 page booklet, entitled "The Truth about the National question in Romania" was published in 1982 by AGERPRESS, the official Rumanian news agency. It contains 29 page text and 48 page pictures, more than half of them dealing with the Hungarian nationality of Rumania.

Since the introduction sets the tone of the entire content of the booklet, it is important to analyze it in depth. It stresses the Rumanian antecedence in populating "Romania's soil" on which — as the writer puts it — "other populations settled down to live along with the native Romanian people".

Almost all the non-Rumanian nationalities of Rumania live in Transylvania. Some of them has lived there for more than a thousand years (Hungarians), some for 800 years (Saxons) and 300 years (Swabians) to mention the largest ones.

The settling of Rumanians in Transylvania is not accuratly ascertained by historiography. Rumanian historians claim that Rumanians are descendants of the Dacians whose country's history dates back some 2,000 years; many other historians state that Rumanian shepherd tribes emerging first in history on the Balkan peninsula wandered from the Balkan northward into the territory known now as Wallachia and from there not earlier than in the 13th century to Transylvania. Their penetration into Transylvania continued over the later centuries. But the first written document on Rumanian presence in Transylvania is dated only from the early part of the 13th century.

Also the facts that the first written document on the presence of Hungarians in Székelyland is from the 12th century, and that the Hungarian kings resettled Germans in Transylvania some 800 years ago, prove that large parts of Transylvania was not populated by Rumanians any earlier that 800 years ago.

Consequently the non-Rumanian nationalities "settled down" in Transylvania not "to live along with the Rumanian people" — as the booklet states, but rather they had lived there before Rumanians settled down with or without the permission of Hungarian authorities in the 13th century.

Inserting the rather shaky hypothesis of the Rumanian antecedence in Transylvania, right into the introduction to the booklet on the nationalities of Rumania would be prejudicial even if the Rumanians would actually have been the original settlers in Transylvania.

Emphasizing that the non-Rumanian population lives "on Romanian soil" when that soil — to use the Rumanian way of expression — had been "Hungarian soil" for more than thousand years and became "Rumanian soil" only 63 years ago, promotes in our opinion, polarization of the national feelings of Hungarians and Rumanians.

But is it at all important in the

treatment of nationalities which nation or tribes populated Transylvania earlier than the others? It may be if an ethnic group had recently wanted to emigrate to Rumania to start a new life with the intention to become Rumanian, adopting the Rumanian language, culture and national identity.

But the Hungarians, have not emigrated in Transylvania and when they resettled there thousand years ago, Transylvania had been their own country, the kingdom of Hungary.

Instead of restating again and again thatTransylvania is Rumanian soil, it would be more realistic and more peaceable to admit to the historical fact that the three nations, Hungarian, Rumanian and Saxon, have lived together on the soil of Transylvania for too long time to be distinguished as unequal co-inhabitans such as original or new comer population. Each of the three groups are in agreement of one historical truth that the minimum time period they have coexisted in Transylvania is 800 years. There is no need to emphasize how long time 800 years is in the life of countries and nations. Still let's remember: the united Germany would be now only 113 years old, Italy is 124, the United States of America is a 207 years old country.

We do not believe and we see it as a usual propaganda tune when the booklet states that "socialist Romania" puts "and end for ever to all social and national oppression" and that "the Socialist Republic of Romania is among the countries in which the national question was truly solved in a democratic, humanist way".

It would be interesting and useful to the Rumanian credibility to explain what the booklet actually meant when the above grandious statements were printed and additional allegations, that the socialist Rumania removes "all discriminations, declaring and practically ensuring the full equality of all citizens whatever their nationality, race or religion", were included in the text.

All sources of information, except Rumanian sources (such as the booklets published on nationalities and other official Rumanian statements) state exactly the opposite of the above quoted, alleged virtues of the Rumanian government. Discrimination of Hungarians and Saxons, strict curtailment of cultural activities, complete denial of using the nationality languages, even officially sponsored agitation against Hungarians, just to mention a few grievances, have been committed in Rumania for decades, and they increase every year in an alarming rate. Informations on the worsening situation keep coming from many different and to each other unrelated, independent sources such as the United States Government through the Country Reports On Human Rights Practice, Report of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe entitled "Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Seven Years after Helsinki", a recent US Senate Report on Human Right Issues in Rumania and other, independent human right groups, such as Minority Rights Group (London), Amnesty International, and others, international press reports in the U.S., England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavian countries, books, visitors from and in Rumania etc.

Would at least have the text a sentence of reference to the imperfect state of human rights in Rumania, the booklet could assure a higher rate of credibility to the Rumanian allegation of "full equality of rights among all working people".

But it does not have any such reference thereby inadvertently proving that the booklet is a textbook case of propaganda product which is supposed to admit no weakness, no fault, no blame and has to reflect the best possible image of the country's national minority policies, even if it is a phony image.

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The first chapter of the booklet, "**The National Structure of Romania's Population**" is based on the latest Rumanian census taken in January 1977. Foreign experts do not agree with the Rumanian census figures with regard to nationalities. Their research indicate that some 2.5 million Hungarians live in Rumania, i.e. 11.6% of the total population and not only 1,670568 or 7.9% as the booklet states.

But what is likely to be more important, a flat percentage figure does not tell the real facts as to the Hungarian presence in Rumania. Hungarians, Saxons, Swabians and most of the smaller ethnic groups live in Transylvania, the formerly Hungarian province of today Rumania where their total number amounts to an estimated 40%. It is Transylvania where the strength of Hungarians and others should be taken in consideration by respecting their human and national rights with a larger say of their own affairs concerning education in Hungarian and other schools, cultural activities, usage of mother tongue in public offices, preserving the demographic structure of ethnic communities, assigning leadership positions, participating in the administration etc.

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The next chapter entitled "A le**gal basis for the Equality of Rights**" alleges completely "equal" rights in all fields of economic, political, juridical, social and cultural life irrespective of nationality, race, sex or religion". The trouble with this quotation is that it is the text of the Rumanian Socialist Constitution and who ever heard of a constitution which does not proclaim lofty principles? (It is safe to say that equality in Rumania only exists in the equal share of poverty, grave food shortages and suffering from the strict regimentation and economic blunders of the Rumanian government.)

One thing is the Constitution and an entirely different thing is the practice as to the treatment of nationalities in Rumania and handling human rights problems in general. Researchers of the United States Government found that "in the area of human rights there are major discrepancies between Romanian law and the nations' international commitments on the one hand and the Government's internal practices on the other." (Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982, page 983) And this type of discrepancies between words and deeds have been haunting researchers into communist Rumania whether it concerns emigration, treatment of national minorities, religious freedom or other aspects of Rumanian life.

The allegations included in the booklet with regard to equal rights for everybody irrespective of nationality is in sharp contrast with the findings of the congressional Commision on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Their above quoted report, "Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Findings and Recommendations seven years after Helsinki", clearly states: "The question of ethnic minority rights in Rumania has long been a sensitive issue. Evidence suggests that the Rumanian Government does not adequately defend these rights, despite protestations to the contrary and legal prohibitions against minority discrimination. Amnesty International, the International Human Rights Law Group and ethnic constituencies in Western CSCE states assert that the Rumanian Government discriminates against minorities as a matter of policy.

There is little doubt that Romania does not substantially fulfill its Final Act obligations to give minority group members, as well as other citizens, "the opportunity for the actual enjoyment" of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. Insensitivity of the Romanian Government to the Hungarian minority's ethnic concerns has been the subject of much criticism."

In view of the substantial discrepancies between the perfect track record of the Rumanian Government in the handling of national minorities (as the booklet tries to convince the readers), and the findings of objective and unbiased researchers, it is difficult not to extend doubt and scepticism toward the credibility of the rest of the booklet and toward the official Rumanian attitude of hiding the embarrassing truth in general.

Another double edged situation (one edge is the law, another one is the practice) should be mentioned in conjunction with the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Rumania under Article 17:

The law asserts: "Any manifestation pursuing ... nationalist-chauvinistic propaganda, the stirring of national and racial hatred are punishable by law."

In the practice the law closes its eye in case of Rumanian hate-mongering attacks against non-Rumanian elements, as for instance the book entitled **Cuvint despre Transilvania** (A word about Transylvania) authored by a Rumanian novelist, friend of President Ceausescu, called Ion Lancranjan. The book's concluding essay is a poetic treatise glorifying the Rumanian character of Transylvania and agitating against Hungarians, which is irreconcilable with the Party's officially proclaimed minority policies, and with the Constitution. The book published in 1982 by the Sport and Tourism Department of the Government in 50,000 copies, violates the words and spirit of the law making "the stirring of national and racial hatred" a crime "punishable by law". Yet it is very popular among Rumanians, and the publisher Government Agency, of course, is not prosecuted.

Ironically and rather tragically if a Hungarian tries to speak up for Hungarian schooling interests or for demanding what would be due to Hungarians under the law, that is considered as nationalistic agitation, and the person will be arrested, beaten up and punished under the same law which prohibits discrimination against nationalities.

This has been the case of many Hungarians in the last twenty years or so. The following partial list of those arrested or/and convicted for usually unknown charges of political nature in the last few years sheds light upon the systematic disrégard by Rumanian authorities of the "legal basis for the Equality of Rights" for both Rumanians and nationalities.

Árpád Visky, actor of the State Hungarian Theater in Sepsiszentgyörgy (in Rumanian Sfintu Gheorghe), arrested last February, convicted for 5 years in prison of alleged "offending an armed agent".

Ms. Katalin Biró, architect, convicted for 5 years of unknown charges, released in July under strict order not to talk about her case at all.

Ernő Borbély, gravely ill history teacher, arrested in last March in Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), convicted for 6 years of unknown charges.

László Buzás, draughtsman, arrested in Csikszereda, convicted of unknown charges for 6 years.

The January 13 special issue of the Ellenpontok (Counterpoint), a Transylvanian Hungarian samizdat publication, lists a score of Hungarian intellectuals vilified by the Rumanian security police (Securitate) in the later part of 1982 by holding house searches. The police "confiscated books from Hungary (mainly history, ethnographic and cultural-history types of books), Hungarian books and magazins published in the period between the two world wars in Transylvania, private correspondences, typewriters, and foodstuff from Hungary. Many more Hungarian people were interrogated by the police; the authorities made every effort to prove as much connections of these people with Hungary as possible, they tried to extort confessions from them which would compromise the well known personalities of the Hungarian culture in Romania" — writes the Ellenpontok.

House searches were held among others at these peoples:

In Dés (Dej)
 Rev. László Tőkés reformed minister
in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures)
 Attila Vári, writer
 Attila Kelemen, veterinarian
 Mihály Spielman, historian
In Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)
 Gábor Tompa, stage director
 Vid Tirnován, sculptor
In Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc)
 Ms. Borbála Lukács, teacher
In Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintu Gheorghe)
 László Bogdán, poet
 András Balogh, stage director
 Zoltán Czegő, poet
 Imre Márkó, dentist
In Nagyvárad (Oradea)
 Lóránt Kertész, economist
 Gábor Varga, engineer
 Ms. Márta Józsa, university student, also beaten up during interrogation

Amnesty International reported the following cases November 23, 1982:

Géza Szőcs, a writer and poet, editor of Ellenpontok (Counterpoint), the Hungarian underground paper in Rumania, arrested on November 6, 1982 in Kolozsvár, his home searched (Cluj-Napoca), beaten up by police, arrested, tortured, he fled from Kolozsvár, went to mental institute in Tölgyes, rearrested and interrogated in Maroshévvíz and Kolozsvár.

Attila Kertész, Attila Ara-Kovács, Károly Tóth and his wife arrested with Géza Szőcs in Kolozsvár, beaten up by police as editors of the Ellenpontok, later offered by the Rumanian government emigration, Attila Ara-Kovács resettled in Hungary.

Amnesty International first reported in 1978 in its special publication, "Romania" that "members of the Hungarian minority who publicly complain about cultural and political discrimination or engage in cultural activities disapproved of by the authorities, are exposed to maltreatment, short term detentions and other form of harassment. Some have been sent to forced labor camps or to psychiatric hospitals. Some have died under mysterious circumstances or committed suicide." Some cases are listed below:

Károly Király: a former Hungarian member of the Rumanian Communist Party Central Committee was arrested, demoted, deported, and still is under Security Police surveillance, because he complained the "forcible denationalization of minorities" in Rumania.

Zoltán Zsuffa: college progessor, arrested, beaten up, tortured for refusing to write a self-denouncing statement, because "he has spoken publicly a number of occasions on issues relating to the elimination of the Hungarian language schools in Hungarian areas." He is still under surveillance.

János Török: confined to psychiatric hospital in 1975, and still under police surveillance, because he criticized the election system in Rumania at a meeting of 2000 fellow workers at his factory.

Béla Niszly: confined to psychiatric hospital because he "was giving legal assistance as a former lawyer, to members of the Hungarian minority who had submitted complaints to the authorities" on job discrimination and banishment.

Mr. Sima: a teacher "forcibly interned in a psychiatric hospital" because of his "criticism of official attempts to encourage pupils to enroll in Romanian, instead of Hungarian-speaking classes." He lost his job.

János Szabó: harassed, arrested, severly beaten, sentenced to forced labor because he "sent a letter of support to dissident writer Paul Goma, who had initiated a human rights appeal in January 1977 to the 35 signatory states of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in which he criticized human rights violations in Rumania."

Lajos Kuthi: senior Hungarian teacher "who found shot dead in a forest near Brasov after being ... severely beaten by members of the state security police." Prior to his death he collected "signatures for a petition asking for Hungarian-speaking classes in the Brasov region" (with appr. 100,000 Hungarian speaking inhabitants).

Jenő Szikszai: "also a teacher from Brasov," accused of persuading parents of ethnic Hungarian pupils to protest against the elimination of Hungarian-speaking schools in the Brasov region "was severely beaten by security officers." "After an interrogation, Mr. Szikszai committeed suicide."

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Under the title **There can be no equality unless the right to work is guaranteed** the booklet stresses the industrialization of the Transylvanian counties with Hungarian majorities. Statistical figures are not available for the reviewer other than those used in the booklet. But aspects of industrialization that are not brought up in the booklet, should be pointed out.

While industrialization and mass construction of apartment houses undoubtedly contribute to higher standard of living, they bring about changes that cannot be cherished by the Hungarian population. It is difficult to state that these changes are being made purposely against Hungarians or are unavoidable concomitants of the industrialization process. But the fact of the matter is that by enlarging existing manufacturing facilities and building new ones the demographic structure of this Hungarian populated areas (we think mostly about the so called Székely Land in the southeastern corner of Transylvania comprising a formerly pure Hungarian population of close to one million) is radically changing for the benefit of Rumanians and detriment of Hungarians. As a result of the industrialization, for instace, Miercurea Ciuc (original Hungarian name: Csikszereda) one of the largest cities of Székely Land, and formerly 100% Hungarian populated one, has now only 70% Hungarian majority with all its consequences of denationalization such as reducing usage of the Hungarian language, diluting Hungarian schools increasingly with Rumanian ones and with unforseeable future developments as to the survival of the city's and many other cities' original Hungarian character. Csikszereda and many other towns may follow the path of Rumanianization of the great Hungarian cities, like Kolozsvár (in Rumanian: Cluj-Napoca), Nagyvárad (Oradea), Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare), Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), where the formerly 80 to 90% Hungarian majority dwindled down to only a strong minority. And all this happened by government ordered resettlements of Rumanian from the villages and from the original Rumanian provinces beyond the Carpathian Mountains mainly under the title of industrialization.

How ever the industrialization helps improve living conditions (of course, only if with the better earnings people would be able to buy more food and other necessities, but this is not the case in economically troubled Rumania. Factories and modern apartment houses do not serve national survival if they are also means of Rumanianization. In the case of Székely Land they are.

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Equal Rights and Duties in Public Administration, the next chapter of the booklet, states the principle of "equality among all the citizens of the country whatever their nationality, their equal rights and duties to take part in state administration."

Notwithstanding the proportion of Hungarian members in the Grand National Assembly (7.8%) and in the people's councils of cities towns and communes (7.46%), the question to be answered is how these Hungarian members in the administration can serve the interest and expectations of the Hungarian population in their respective communities and the entire country. The overall answer to this question is in the negative. A national legislative body like the Rumanian Grand National Assembly serves in a communist country as a strong echo of what the highest authority of the communist party wants to hear. Besides Hungarian interest are focused mainly on Transylvania and a 7.8% minority's voice is hardly audible even in a normal legislative assembly where people do not have to fear for their safety if they speak up on behalf of their constituency's genuine interest. In the communities Hungarian members of the councils most likely do not dare to speak frankly even if a small minority of the members are Rumanian, not mentioning councils with Rumanian majorities.

Complaints of Transylvanian Hungarians often reach us on account of Rumanian domination in the administration of Hungarian populated communities. Often it is the case that such Hungarian towns or villages have Rumanian majors who cannot even speak Hungarian.

The need to give Transylvania more autonomy in her internal affairs is evident with regard to the non-Rumanian population whose absolute and relative strength (close to 40% of the population) would strenghten their voice in relation to the Rumanian majority.

The booklet tells us that "representatives of the nationalities take direct part in the administration of education and culture, being members of the Higher Council of Education and Instruction, of the board of management of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education.

While surely their task is to see that education serves the interest of entire Rumania as the party perceives it on one hand, it is equally certain that the nationality members of the above organs are supposed to look out for the educational and cultural interests of the non-Rumanian nationality they represent. It is, however, a big question how they can be spokesmen of their respective national interest in a political system where policies are decided solely by the head of state and communist party chief, Mr. Ceausescu and the obedient polit bureau, and where deviations are not tolerated.

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What kind of influence, if any, can be exerted by the nationality members of central educational organs, we may find out in the next chapter, entitled **Broad Opportunities for Education in one's own Language.**

The booklet states: "The possibilities of the nationalities to be taught in their own languages have constantly developed in step with the progress made by the Romanian school in the past decades".

"The ample opportunities that the nationalities have to take classes in their own languages are illustrated by the figures in the following table:" — the text goes on.

The statistical figures on a given cut off-time do not reveal changes that occured during a period of time. Consequently the figures used in the table are not conducive to support the above Rumanian statement that learning in schools, where the language of instruction is the language of nationality, "have constantly developed in step with the progress made by the Rumanian school of the past decades".

But using statistical data of some previous cut-off date help establishing a relation between the two sets of data, whether Hungarian schooling increased or decreased in the last decades.

The booklet published information on "Kindergarten, primary and secondary and high-school education" in Rumania in the school year of 1982-1983 for the whole country and for the "Magyar, German and other" nationality schools.

Another Rumanian booklet entitled "The Hungarian Nationality in Rumania", authored by The Institution of Political Sciences and of Studying the National Question" and published by the Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest in 1976 contains schooling information in the above categories from the 1955/1956 school year. Comparing the 1982/83 figures with those of 1955/56 establishes a trend in Hungarian education during a period of almost three decades.

Based on the Rumanian official data included in the two booklets the ratios of Hungarian schooling to the total of Rumania, the whole country are as follows:

	In % of all country totals		Decrease + Increase −
	1955/56	1982/83	
Preschool education			
Hungarian Kindergartens	13%	6%	−54%
Hungarian children	14%	6%	−57%
Hungarian educators	N.A.	6%	
Primary and secondary education			
Hungarian units and departments	10%	9%	−10%
Hungarian schoolchildren	9%	6%	−33%
Hungarian teachers	N.A.	6%	
High school education			
Hungarian units and departments	18%	27%	+50%
Hungarian students	7%	4%	−43%
Hungarian teachers	N.A.	4%	
Hungarian population		1977	
by last Rumanian census		7.9%	
by foreign estimates		11.6%	

Notes:

1/ The table on page 5 shows how drastically Hungarian education in the last 27 years fell behind the Rumanian education. Looking for the reasons, the huge, 50% overall decrease is too large to be attributable to a possible difference between Hungarian and Rumanian birthrates. Nothing indicates that the Hungarian resistance against denationalization has caved in or weakened considerably, which might cause a quasi voluntary surrender of Hungarian education. Thus the only possible cause must be the forcible dismantling of Hungarian education by goverament regulations, as one of the most significant factor of an overall, systemic denationalization process. Threatlike visitation by local school and party officials at Hungarian families before the new schoolyear starts may be another influencing factor of sending Hungarian children in Rumanian schools. Not in the least, the introduction of vocational high schools in the Rumanian education system may be also responsible for the decline of Hungarian ratios since these schools are all Rumanian ones. Hungarian textbooks and teaching staff is non-existent in these schools.

2/ The 50% increase in the ratio of the Hungarian high schools, on the other hand, seems and odd phenomenon which does not fit in the generally declining trend of the Hungarian education in Rumania. Particularly not if set against the 50% decrease in the ratio of Hungarian highschool students. Thus the alleged increase of the number of high school units cannot be seen as fact. The explanation must lie in a closer scrutiny of the Rumanian data. Using statistical figures included in the following Rumanian publications: **Romania and the National Question**, published "under the sponsorship of "The Socialist Unity Front from the Socialist Republic of Rumania" in 1972, **The Hungarian Nationality in Romania** authored by "The Institute of Political Sciences and of Studying the National Question", published in 1976 and **The Truth about the National Question in Romania** published by Agerpress in 1982, we find that the average number of Hungarian high school students per school has radically changed from the initial 123 in the school year of 1955/56 up to 171 in 1974/75 and down to 128 in the 1982/83 school year. It is, of course, impossible that there were 373 Hungarian high schools in the 1982/83 school year (as the booklet tells us) while only 146, 27 years earlier.

The radical decrease of Hungarian students per high school must rather be the result of a systematic closing of independent Hungarian high schools and the resulting placement of Hungarian students in to Rumanian high schools as "departments" (this is the word the booklet uses) or classes. Obviously the booklet treats a "department" or class with say 40 students as a Hungarian "unit and department" and includes them in the total (373) together with the dwindling number of the remaining independent Hungarian high schools. This practice, of course, is highly misleading about the actual situation of Hungarian high school education as the increased number of Hungarian highschools according to the booklet, actually hides a much smaller number of independent Hungarian highschools and a much larger number of Hungarian classes in Rumanian highschools, than it was three decades ago. By all means the actual number of students tells how widespred is Hungarian education and not the number of schools, departments or classes where the units of different sizes are dumped into one single total figure.

3/ From various sources it is known, but common sense also indicates what dissolution of an independent Hungarian high school and attaching Hungarian departments or classes to Rumanian schools means for Hungarian education. Undoubtedly it results in a gradual withering away and being absorbed by the Rumanian school. First the Hungarian section might be undersupplied in teachers and the necessary teaching aids and equipment, then easy replacement is provided for the temporarily or permanently short Hungarian teaching staff by Rumanian teachers, more and more subjects will be taught by Rumanian teachers until the only subject instructed in Hungarian remains the Hungarian language and literature.

4/ Further limitations have been set to Hungarian education by discriminatory quotas; Hungarian classes must not be open for less than 24 children in elementary and 36 students for high schools. Many Hungarian populated villages cannot muster that many children, so for them there will be no Hungarian schooling. But if only one Rumanian child lives in the village, a Rumanian class will be arranged for him or her and the 23 or less, respectively 35 or less Hungarian children must attend Rumanian school for the one Rumanian child. The possible solutions for Hungarian education, such as transporting the children in a central village with Hungarian school or setting up boarding schools are out of question, the former on account of or on the pretext of gasolin shortage, the

	1955/56	1982/83	Increase + decrease —
children in Kindergartens			
All children in Rumania	275,453	902,608	+227%
in Hungarian classes	39,669	56,510	+42%
% of Hungarian children	14%	6%	−57%
children in primary and secondary schools			
All students in Rumania	1,603,025	3,140,101	+96%
in Hungarian classes	152,234	183,154	+20%
% of Hungarian students	9%	6%	−33%
students in high schools (including vocational schools)			
All students in Rumania	253,055	1,205,158	+376%
in Hungarian classes	17,955	47,620	+165%
% of Hungarian students	7%	4%	−43%

latter because only Rumanian boarding schools are permitted by the State. Outside of Rumania no one knows how many Hungarian children have been and will be deprived from education in his mother tongue by this regulations but certainly a significant number.

5/ The actual number of students in Hungarian schools, of course, has grown in the last three decades considerably, and so did the Rumanians. But the increase of Rumanian students outpace that of the Hungarians by three to one. The table on page 6 shows the actual number of students in 1955/56 and in 1982/83.

The upsurge in Kindergarten and high school education in the last 27 years is a striking phenomenon. It is the likely result of opening many more kindergartens, and directing high school age youth to the vocational schools which prepare them to fulfil job requirements in factories.

But just as striking is the substantial lag in increase of Hungarian pupils compared to that of entire Rumania.

In conclusion our analysis of the Hungarian education in Rumania based on official Rumanian statistical data clearly indicates that Hungarian education in Rumania has suffered a catastrophic blow in the last three decades. Our finding also shows that the general statement of the booklet, "the possibilities of the nationalities to be taught in their own languages have constantly developed in step with the progress made by the Rumanian school in the past decades", is not a valid statement and exactly its opposite is the real truth.

Experts estimate that about 35% of all the school age Hungarian youth in Rumania has never had the chance to attend Hungarian schools and that this number will increase if the Rumanian government does not change its minority policies for the better.

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The next chapter, entitled "**In Higher Learning**" (meaning most likely the Broad Opportunities for Education in one's own Language in Higher Learning) deals with the subject surprisingly briefly, so that the reader does not have much chance to learn about those broad opportunities. The less than two pages of information furnishes statistacial data only for nationality students but does not give any figures on Rumanian students. In lack of these figures it is impossible to find out whether the percentage of minority students corresponds to the ratio of the overall student population in entire Rumania.

But our source reveals that the Hungarian university students make up only 4.2% of the student population of entire Rumania which is only 53% of the ratio of the Hungarian population to that of the entire country. The number of Hungarian university students should be about 7.9% which is the official ratio of the Hungarian population.

We learn from the booklet that in the Babes-Bolyai University only 139 Hungarian instructors taught in the academic year of 1980—1981, while the number of Rumanian teaching staff amounted to 633, i.e. 82% against the 18% Hungarian teachers. When the independent Hungarian University in Kolozsvár (in Rumanian Cluj-Napoca) was forcibly dissolved and merged with the Rumanian Babes University in 1959, Rumanian authorities pledged that the two parts will be completely equal branches of the Babes-Bolyai University.

The promise was not kept and "the net result of the merger was that university education in Hungarian shrank drastically. None of the applied sciences was taught in Hungarian, which means that Hungarians were by and large restricted to medicine and teaching" ("The Hungarians of Rumania", published by Minority Rights Group, London, in 1978)

Even to Hungarian literature classes in the Babes-Bolyai University less and less students are admitted: 25 in 1981, 20 in 1982 and 15 out of 130 applicants in 1983. But in the Hungarian districts of Transylvania 200—250 Hungarian teaching positions are not filled because of shortage of teachers. Training of Hungarian teachers has been systematically reduced over the years: out of the 16 Hungarian teachers-college operating until 1958 there are only two left over in 1983, where 35 teachers are graduating annually.

There are serious shortages in clergymen at the Calvinist (Reformed) Church. Yet only 6 applicants were admitted to the theology in 1983 out of 90 who wanted to be ministers at one of the strongest Hungarian churches in Transylvania, while 50 Reformed congregations are without a minister.

Another fact of the drastically declining Hungarian higher education in the last 25 years emerges from the nationality breakdown of the academic staff of certain departments at the Babes-Bolyai University. Included in the chart are: the chemistry, law, economics, mathematics, history and philosophy departments.

	1958/59.	1976/77.	changes
Rumanian staff	146 – 60%	233 – 80%	increase 87 – 60%
Hungarian staff	99 – 40%	58 – 20%	decrease 41 – 41%

We could go on and on with the data that indicate shrinking, rather than broadening opportunities for education in Hungarian but the few cases we brought up seem more than adequate to shed light upon the worsening state of Hungarian language education in Rumania.

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As to the "**Prodigious publishing activity in the languages of the nationalities**", the next chapter's title, let's see the facts. The booklet states that "7300 titles in 87 million copies are annually printed in Romania" and out of these total 300 titles in 3.4 million copies in Hungarian language. The Hungarian book titles and copies represent only 4% of the total book publications in Rumania, about the half of what could be expected according to the 7.9% ratio of Hungarian population.

Thus the activity of nationality language publication seems not as prodigious as the book alleges. The breakdown of the books by subjects is not available for the reviewer. A significant part of it must have to do with communist-socialist indoctrination.

Spreading culture and knowledge by reading has always been a predominant way next to regular schooling. Hungarians in Rumania would have ample chances not to restrict their reading to publications made in Rumania because of the rich book production in neighboring Hungary. But they are virtually cut off from Hungary's book production (fiction or non-fiction). Importation of books from Hungary by mail is practically impossible and books brought by visitors from Hungary have to be deposited at border checkpoints and take back home at the visitor's return to Hungary. Transylvanian Hungarian visitors coming home from Hungary are searched for books at the border and Hungarian books they may bring with them are confiscated. This policy may well be compared to book burning and similar cultural barbarism. It violates the Helsinki Final Act with regard to free flow of information and communication between countries. This type of cultural isolation of Transylvanian Hungarians from the main body of the Hungarian nation is the true manifestation of the actual Rumanian attitude toward culture and national identity, other than Rumanian.

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The next chapter, "**Mass Media: a complex, comprehensive system**" deals with nationality newspapers and broadcastings. Here again looking at the figures, we find the following situation:

1981	number of newspapers	total number of copies annually
entire Rumania	502 – 100.0%	1,537,885,680 – 100.0%
Hungarian papers	33 – 6.6%	109,867,020 – 7.1%

Compare the percentages with the 7.9% official Rumanian figure for the Hungarian population of Rumania.

The reviewer's comment to Hungarian papers in Rumania refers to the content of these papers. One unacceptable aspect is the space devoted to the "beloved" leader of Rumania which often takes away 50 to 80% of the papers in entire Rumania, including pictures of Mr. Ceausescu and his wife. The reviewer had subscribed quite a few of these papers but gave up most of them becoming tired of the "personal cult" of Mr. Ceausescu as the recurring subject of these puppet newspapers of the communist party. The central newspaper in Hungarian language "Előre" is basically the translation of the main Rumanian paper, "Scientia". The Hungarian press thus is nothing else than the extension of communist doctrines and policies in Hungarian complemented by some non-controversial local news, in which the reader would in vain look for the reporting of genuine Hungarian problems, such as the decline of schooling, arrests of Hungarians for non-criminal reasons, discrimination at jobs and leadership positions etc.

The inadequacy of the Hungarian press is well pointed out by the fact that an underground (samizdat) paper, "Ellenpontok" ("Counterpoint") started to be published couple of years ago in Transylvania, until its editors were arrested and persecuted.

There is no need to stress the importance of television in our times as medium of influencing the masses. This is true in Rumania, too. How the nationalities' participation in broadcasts in their languages are assured in Rumania, is an all important factor in assessing the degree of their cultural freedom.

The chart included in the booklet tells the following story about TV and radio boradcasting in Rumania:

	1975		1981		changes	
	number of broadcast hours					
	Radio	TV	Radio	TV	Radio	TV
entire Rumania	40,329	4,642	42,772	5,490	+ 6%	18%
in Hungarian	1,914	126	2,390	140	+25%	+11%
in % of total	4.7%	2.7%	5.6%	2.5%		

While reading the chart below one aspect clearly stands out: the Hungarian language broadcasts, particularly on television, are woefully inadequate, and the change in six years in relation to the entire country, is a step backward: 2.5% from 2.7%. Just to match the official ratio of the Hungarian population, there should be 3380 radio, and 434 television broadcast hours in Hungarian language in Rumania. The shortage in Hungarian television broadcasts is augmented by the fact that on account of the mountainous terrain Hungarian TV broadcasts from Budapest are impossible to receive in most parts of Transylvania — without some three relay stations in Transylvania. But of course the Rumanian government would not help or even permit construction of relays, the one probable reason being that the Hungarian language would penetrate more intensely into Transylvania.

Our comments on the last chapter of the booklet, **A complex system of cultural and art institutions**, and our final conclusions on the content and truth value of the booklet will appear in the next issue of the Carpathian Observer.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT "THE TRUTH . . ."

COMMENTS ON A RUMANIAN BOOKLET ON NATIONALITIES

(Continued)

In our last issue (Vol. 11, No. 2.) we published comments on the official Rumanian publication, "The Truth about the National Question in Romania".

We analyze now the last chapter of the booklet, entitled **A complex system of cultural and art institutions** which is devoted to nationality theaters, museums, libraries, and historic monuments. It lists some of these institutions not giving the slightest hint that most of them were established by Hungarians prior to the annexation of Transylvania to Rumania under the power of the Trianon peace treaty. Rumania simply takes credit for these achievements, succesfully because people at large do not know the background of what was inherited by Rumania from Hungary 64 years ago.

Then in a surprising turn the text of the booklet states that "all history, art and ethnography museums are giving evidence of the Romanian people's permanence and continuity in this land . . ."

It is strange that, when the chapter is supposed to deal with the "cultural and art institutions" of the nationalities, the first general statement stresses not the "permanence and continuity" of the nationalities but these of the Rumanian people, not giving that recognition to the Hungarians who had established their country (including Transylvania) 1000 years ago.

The only explanation why Rumanians advertise day-and-night the "permanence and continuity" of the Rumanian people in that area is that they still must not be quite certain about it. This would be well understandable since there is absolutely no documented evidence of the Rumanians in Transylvania any earlier than the 13th century and so there is no linkage between the Dacians and the first Rumanian emergence in Transylvania leaving a gap of more than a thousand years in the Rumanian history.

Yet, there is some intrinsic connection between the nationality museums and the "permanence" of the Rumanian people in Transylvania: to our knowledge most of these museums are rearranged by the Rumanians in a manner that they rather show the Rumanian past than that of the Hungarians. Rumania's "respect" to the nationalities' past and presence is manifested also by the fact that most of the Hungarian sculptures are taken down and destroyed and the ones still up are inscribed in Rumanian only.

The reviewer reads with a good portion of scepticism that "the Romanian State is permanently concerned with the restoration of historic and art monuments" of the nationalities. If it is, chances are that the concern is in the negative: how to leave Hungarian castles, cathedrals, cultural institutions in permanent disrepair so that the destructive power of time could wipe them off from the Hungarian image of Transylvania. The latest news indicate, for instance, that the Rumanian state will take down all the historic Hungarian renaissance and baroque buildings at the main plaza of Kolozsvár (in Rumanian Cluj-Napoca) and replace them with highrise constructions.

We are convinced that these buildings would be left alone and even refurbished, were they of Rumanian origin. Poland rebuilt Warsaw's historical district as it was before war ravaged it, Germany rebuilt the destroyed districts of Frankfurt from the Middle Ages, Rumania destroys cultural landmarks, if they are of Hungarian origin. Another item not mentioned in the booklet is the confiscation and carting away of Hungarian "documents, official and private correspondence, memoirs, manuscripts, maps, films, slides, photos, engravings, imprints, seals and like materials" over 30 years old, from the possession of religious and cultural institutions and private citizens, the expropriation of church archives, antique chalices, altar cloths' and other irreplaceable items in 1974 and 1975. Of course, if Rumania wants to make propaganda to put itself in favorable light, the beforehand listed confiscations and expropriations could not be mentioned for good effect.

CONCLUSION

Little wonder that the book quotes one Hungarian and one German Transylvanian praising the Rumanian nationality policies. In any nation, any group there are such people who make a career of siding with the power for any price, and for their own benefit. Are perhaps the thousands of Germans who leave Rumania for West Germany each year not realizing how good they feel in communist Rumania?

According to the view of the Rumanian communist party "the nationalities will continue to exist for a long time to come" but Rumanian minority policies appear to indicate that they want to shorten that "long time to come" and do everything possible to stifle the Hungarian future in Transylvania and also eradicate the Hungarian past of that disputed land. Thus the trials and tribulations of the Hungarian nation which was condemned to loose some one third of its compatriots in the peace treaty of Trianon have not ended yet. Whether the dwindling educational opportunities cultural curtailments, police terror, spiritual isolation will strengthen the Transylvanian Hungarians' will to survive, only time will tell.

In essence, the booklet on the nationalities in Rumania seems to want to prove that the Rumanian government does its best to lengthen the existence of the Hungarians in Rumania. We used mostly the Rumanian official data included in the booklet to form our opinion but we have not come to the same conclusion as the Rumanian writer. Not, because we put the raw data in perspective to see the trend and result of the Rumanian minority policies. Unfortunately, the trend points downward and if it does not change for the better, a little calculation would help to predict the end of the Hungarian community of Rumania. May God prove that the future cannot be calculated by man and trends may change for the better.

August 21, 1984

Submission for the Record
Subcommittee on International Trade,
of the Committee on Finance
United States Senate

STATEMENT OF LASZLO PASZTOR, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF AMERICAN HUNGARIANS, IN CONNECTION WITH THE FURTHER EXTENSION OF WAIVER AUTHORITY GRANTED BY SUBSECTION 402(C) OF THE TRADE ACT OF 1974, COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS "MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS" (MFN) TO HUNGARY AND RUMANIA

The National Federation of American Hungarians ("NFAH") appreciates the opportunity to submit this statement on the further extension of waiver authority to the Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

The NFAH has not, and does not now, oppose the extension of Most Favored Nations ("MFN") status to Hungary because of the benefits to U.S. trade policies and to the Hungarian people of expanded trade and because of the concomitant economic reforms and relative liberalizing trends that have been initiated in Hungary in the past. Recently, however, there are disturbing signs of a reversion to more oppressive policies. As stated by the Department of State's current country Reports on Human Rights and Practices on Hungary:

> The human rights situation during 1983 reflected a contradictory pattern not unfamiliar to recent Hungarian history, with both positive and negative developments. Notably, the authorities harassed dissidents involved in samizdat (unofficial) publishing and distribution, indicating a desire to control such activities more tightly. A "boutique" used to circulate samizdat was forced to close.

The harassment has taken several forms. For instance, Sandor Csoori, the reknowned author and poet, was banned from publishing for one year and sharply criticized in the press for writing a foreward to an autobiographical work of a Hungarian writer in Czechoslovakia who chronicled the oppressive measures taken against the country's Hungarian minority. More severe measures were taken against Gabor Demsky, a Hungarian editor of samizdat publications, who was tried purportedly for assaulting a police officer. It, however, was he who suffered a concussion at the hands of the police after being stopped for harassment purposes because of his dissident activities.

Therefore, we encourage this Committee to emphasize to the Hungarian government that its human rights record is an important factor which is taken into account by the Congress when it considers continued or expanded trade. Specifically, we urge that the Hungarian government restore the civil rights of the intellectuals and others who are harassed on political grounds.

The NFAH, as well as its individual members, have with growing anxiety, followed the gross and persistent human rights violations in Rumania. Particularly alarming is the discrimination and persecution of the approximately 2.5 million Hungarian minority by the Rumanian government whose obvious intent is to denationalize and assimilate the members of the group. Equally disturbing and tragic are the oppressive measures taken against religious groups.

As stated by the Staff Report submitted to the Congress of the United State by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, dated November, 1982 at page 66:

> Amnesty International, the International Human Rights Law Group and ethnic constituencies in Western CSCE states assert that the Romanian Government discriminates against minorities as a matter of policy. Others maintain that no national policy of discrimination exists *per se*, but that the government's emphasis on national unity and societal change in effect permits biased officials to engage in widespread discriminatory practices with impunity. Since there are few realistic opportunities, except for emigration, for redress of human rights grievances, making the distinction as to whether or not a discriminatory national policy toward minorities exist makes little practical difference.

In fact, the widespread oppression under which the members of the Hungarian minority live in Rumania is well documented. These include the precipitous decline of Hungarian-language educational institutions at the elementary and high school levels and the elimination of Hungarian universities; the dissolution of compact Hungarian communities; the suppression of Hungarian and other minority languages; curtailment of human contacts and cultural exchanges with Hungarians outside of Rumania; harassment of churches and religious groups and confiscation of their archives; falsification of census figures and history; and the concomitant persecution of individuals who raise their voice against political, social, cultural and religious discrimination with the most outspoken individuals being arrested, beaten, condemned to forced-labor camps or held incommunicado with little or no trace of their whereabouts.

Examples of the persecution of individuals who speak out against the Rumanian government's denationalization policies include the arrest of Borbe Erno and Biro Katalin of Miercurea Ciuc apparently for their articulated indignation over anti-Hungarian fliers which they believed had been prepared and distributed with the participation of the Rumanian secret police. They presumably have been sentenced to several years imprisonment, although nothing is known of their whereabouts. A friend of theirs, Laszlo Buzas, also was arrested in connection with the charges against them, tortured by having his nails torn out and sentenced to imprisonment for "treason." Similarly, Visky Arpad of Sfintul Gheorghe disappeared in February, 1983 after he was arrested by the Rumanian secret police. Subsequently, in August, 1983, he was tried in Bucharest and sentenced to five years imprisonment by a military court for allegedly "slandering Rumanian" and for "disseminating hostile propaganda."

Despite the extension by the United States of trade benefits to Rumania during the past several years and despite wishful thinking that continued trade without anything more will somehow enhance human rights in Rumania, the contrary is actually the case. Therefore, we urge this Committee to signal the Rumanian government that the Congress will not ignore oppressive policies directed at Rumania's ethnic and religious groups and continued trade benefits from the United States will not be extended unless some measures are taken to ease the plight of those groups. If corrective measures are not taken immediately MFN should be withheld.

As Rumania's suspension of the emigration tax clearly demonstrated, Rumania can be quite sensitive and responsive to the specter of losing trade advantages. The NFAH urges the United States to use whatever leverage it may enjoy to enhance the rights of Rumania's persecuted Hungarian and other ethnic and religious minorities.

Holstein Association
1885 1985

1 South Main Street
Brattleboro, VT 05301

Telephone 802-254-4551
802-257-4651
Cable Holstein
TWX 710 363 1871

August 20, 1984

The Honorable
John C. Danforth, Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Senate Committee on Finance
SD-219 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Danforth:

I would appreciate it greatly if this statement could be included in the printed record of the hearing on Subsections (a) and (b) of Section 402, the Freedom of Emigration provision, of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618).

It is my privilege to relay to you the position of Holstein-Friesian Association of America strongly recommending that the waiver authority of The President under Section 402 (d) (5) of the Trade Act be extended to July 3, 1985.

While the 44,000 members of the Holstein Association are not in a position to make a judgment regarding the emigration practices and policies of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China, it is has been the consistent policy of this Association that these three nations be granted nondiscriminatory (Most-Favorite-Nation (MFN)) trade treatment under the authority of the Trade Act of 1974 recognizing that they are the only nonmarket economy countries which have been granted such status. Members of the Association's staff have traveled extensively in these countries. I personally have traveled in each of the countries and have a reasonable familiarity with their policies and the benefits to be gained mutually by continuing their MFN status.

With sincere appreciation for the favorable consideration of your Committee of The President's waiver authority and his recommendation for the extension of MFN treatment of these three countries, I am

Yours truly,

Robert H. Rumler
Chairman Emeritus
rhr/lmw
cc: Senator Robert Dole
Senator Robert Stafford
Senator Patrick J. Leahy

Holstein-Friesian Association of America

Constantin Negulescu
14 Alden Street
Malden, MA 02148

August 21, 1984

Roderick A. DeArment, Chief Counsel
Committee on Finance
Room SD-219
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: FINANCE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
TO HOLD HEARING ON CONTINUING THE PRESIDENT'S
AUTHORITY TO WAIVE THE TRADE ACT
FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION PROVISION

Dear Sirs:

The press release regarding the above hearing came to my attention after the hearing date of August 8, 1984 as I would certainly have been present to orally argue the case of my sister and her husband who have been refused their demand to emigrante by the Romanian government. I will, however, set their case before you so that you may clearly see how Communist countries such as Romania use agreements made with the West to suit their purposes totally ignoring the human rights clauses.

In February, 1975, I emigrated from Romania possibly with the benefit of the Trade of Act of 1974. I am now an American citizen, and reside along with my family in Malden, Massachusetts.

My parents have come to visit me on several occasions since I have been in the U.S., and in December of 1981 they again came for a visit. At that time, it was decided they should remain in this country for medical reasons and because of the hardships of living in Romania, especially for retired, elderly persons. They have been granted permanent resident status by the Bureau of Naturalization and Immigration here in Boston.

I also have a sister, my parents' natural daughter, residing in Bucharest, Romania, along with her husband (they do not have children), who have also been granted approval of an immigration visa to the U.S. They petitioned the Romanian government to emigrate in September of 1982. Their names are Iulia and Ion Letea and their address is Boulevard 1 Mai, 42-52, Bloc 35, Scara B, Etajul 6, Apartment 61, Sectorul 1, 77482 Bucuresti, Romania. My sister is a teacher and her husband, Ion, is a university professor. A copy of his curriculum vitae is enclosed.

We have been in touch with them regularly and all they have been able to tell us each time for the past year is that they have been told to wait patiently as their request to emigrate would be resolved favorably. They were taken off their teaching posts several months before the end of the academic year this year so that their demand could be processed and are now without any kind of paying job or means of support which is in itself a hardship. In June of this year, they were told that they would not be allowed to emigrate from Romania. Their case number in Romania is 142018.

It is heard to comprehend how a country such as Romania can be granted the treatment of "most favored nation" as pertains to the Trade Act of 1974 (enacted Jan. 3, 1975) when my sister and her husband are not allowed to emigrate. Congress should not allow the President's recommendation to extend the period of the waiver authority of subsections (a) and (b) as stated in (d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974 on the grounds that Romania is in direct violation of paragragh (1) of subsection (a) which states:

> "denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate;..."

My sister and her husband were informed by the Romanian authorities on June 18th that they would not be allowed to emigrate. This was only weeks before the the waiver authority was extended by the President for 12 months, to July 3, 1985. Obviously the officials of that country knew there would not be enough time for the violation to be made known.

I present this argument to you with the hope that my parents can realize their dream of a unified family. We have made this situation known to Senator Tsongas and Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts in that they might be able to help bring my sister and her husband to the U.S.

Thanking you for your time and attention to this letter.

Respectfully yours,

Constantin Negulescu

CONSTANTIN NEGULESCU

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME: LETEA T.ION

BORN: 1937, November 12, Bucharest, Romania; married; no children

STUDIES:

- Faculty of Geology-Geography, Bucharest University, Magna cum Laude Diploma, 1959.
- Doctor of Geographical Sciences, Jassy University (Prof. Ion Sandru); Thesis: Geography of the World Oil Industry. (Published 1974)

DEGREES:

- University Assistant 1959 - 1969
- Lecturer 1969 - 1975
- Associate Professor 1975 - 1981

(Department of Geography, University of Bucharest)

LECTURES:

- The Economic Geography of the Socialist Countries (1971 - 1977)
- The Theoretical Bases of Geography (1968 - 1974)
- The World Economic Geography (1975 - 1981)
- Romania's Regional Geography (1975 - 1981)
- The Geography of North and South America (1977 - 1981)

(All at the Faculty)

- Chairman of the Earth Sciences Faculty, Bucharest Cultural Scientific University (1976 - 1981)

OTHER ACTIVITIES:

- Member of the Experts Commission for International Schoolbooks Revision (UNESCO Program)
- Meetings with geographers from West Germany, France, Austria, Poland, Holland (1974 - 1981)
- Period of study at Geografisk Centralinstitut Kobenhavns Universitet (1975 - 1976)

SCIENTIFIC FIELDS:

- Geography of Industry
- Geography of Transports
- Regional Geography
- Environmental Analysis and Protectio

PAPERS (SELECTED)

BOOKS AND SCHOOLBOOKS

- The Geography of North and Central America (Ed. Stiintifica si Encicl., Buc., 1977, 364 p.)
- The Economic Geography of Socialist Countries (Ed. Did. si Ped., Buc., 1976, 350 p.)
- The World Oil Geography (Editura Stiintifica, Buc., 1974, 204 p.)
- The World Economic Geography (Ed. Did. si Ped., Buc., 1980, 276 p.)
- The Ports of the World (Ed. Encicl., Buc., 1969, 419 p.)
- Encyclopaedia of Geographical Discoveries (Ed. Stiint. si Encicl., Buc., 1976, 387 p.)
- The Earth Energetic Resources (Ed. Stiint. si Encicl.,Buc.,1974,84 p.)
- Eurasia (Schoolbook,1972,1976,1980)

STUDIES AND ARTICLES

- Over 60, especially in the following reviews/magazines:
  . Terra
  . Analele Universitatii Bucuresti
  . Revue Roumaine de Geographie, Geologie et Geophysique
  . Comunicari de Geografie
  . Studii de Geografie
  (Romanian, French, and English text and summary)

CONTRIBUTIONS

- The National Geographical Atlas
- Little Encyclopaedic Dictionary
- The District Geographical Encyclopaedia
- The Geography of the Romanian Danube Valley

WORKS IN MANUSCRIPT:

- Geography of World Transportation (a dictionary)
- The Geopolitical Approach of the World's Global Problems
- Geography of the Romanian Land

REFERENCES:

- Prof. Viggo Hansen, Geografisk Centralinistitut, Kobenhavns Universitet, Haaraldsgrade 68, 2100 Kobenhavn, Danmark
- Prof. Arnold Beuerman, Director of the Geographic Institut, Technical University, West Germany, 33 Braunschweig, Steinbrecherstrasse 15.
- Prof. Chauncy D. Harris, Department of Geography, the University of Chicago, 5828 University Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637, USA.
- Dr. Henk Meijer, Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, Geografisch Institut, Heidelberglaan 2, 3508 TC Utrecht, Nederland.
- Prof. David Turnock, Department of Geography, Leicester University, England, 21 Ingarsby Drive, Leicester, England.
- Prof. Stanislaw Berezowski, Chairman of the Polish Geographical Society, Ul. Karlowicza f.m. 11, Warszawa, Poland.
- Ph.D. Nicolae Dima, Voice of America, the Romanian Section, 20013 Washington D.C., USA.

August 8, 1984 at 2:00 P.M.
President's authority to waive
application of subsection a & b
of Section 402, the freedom of
emigration provision of the Trade
Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618)

Sir,

The undersigned Gociman Magdalena, a political refugee from Romania, resident, along with my husband and daughter, since September 25, 1981 in Chicago, 2063 West Jarvis, 60645, would like to bring to your notice the followings:

I left Romania on the basis of passport for people without citizenship and on June 14, 1982 we (my family and I) became permanent residents in the United States.

On August 23, 1982 my parents have also come to United States and are residing at the same address with me and my family.

I Romania I have a sister and her family:

Deca Maria-Ana	nurse	sister	11-26-1943
Deca Mircea	Physician	brother-in-law	06-28- 1932
Deca Monica	student	niece	07-07-1966

all residing in Bucharest, Str. Miron Constantinescu 10, bloc OS1, Sc. C, ap. 114, Sector 6, phone 26-47-37.

They applied for emigration to the United States on March 1, 1980, having the file #101.465.

On April 11, 1980 they have also opened a file at the American Embassy in Bucharest and on the same day they had also an interview with Mr. James Lasiter , the American Consul in those days.

Immediately after applying for emigration, more exactly in May of 1980 my sister was fired from her job and by brother-in-law was removed from his job and sent in a very remote village.

After 3 years and 5 months of continuous harrasments and oppresions from Romanian authorities, on August 5, 1983 as a result of our numerous appeals made to the American authorities, Deca family was granted the large forms.

The submitting of these forms was conditioned by the resignation from his job of my brother-in-law and by not permitting my niece to go to school.

Since August 23, 1983 Deca family is without any means of living.

Since that date the Romanian authorities have also intensified their harrasments and oppresions against Deca family.

Although 6 months is the maximum legal period to issue the passports - from the date of submitting the large forms - until now Deca family did not receive any reply . The only thing they are continuously told is to wait.

During the last meeting they had with the Passport Authorities that is in July, 1984, they have been told that their passports have been approved and proccessed since January of 1984 but they are not given the passports because Deca Mircea has a sister who is working on contracts in Algeria.

My brother-in-law , who does not maintain any relations with his sister for a very long time, did not even know that she is working in Algeria , does not know when she left and how long she is going to continue to stay there.

This shows clearly and these are unreasonable motives found by the Romanian authorities just to prevent Deca family to leave Romania.

Here, in the United States, we appealed to numerous American officials : Senator Charles Percy, Honorable Dante Fascell, President Ronald Reagan's Secretary as well as to the State Department, Commission for East Europe and Bureau of Human Rights, asking for their help in solving"this very old and difficult case" as even Senator Percy said in his letter of June, 1984 and as was also mentioned in the telephone conversations I had on August 15, 1984 with Senator Percy's Secretaries (Ms. Summers and Ms. Sussien).

As you can see, this is typical case of reunification of the family as my sister has both parents and the sister in the United States, and even if 4 years and 5 months have passed since they applied foe emigration the romanian authorities continue to break the agreements they have signed regarding human rights and cold blooded torture and harras Deca family preventing them to leave Romania.

I appeal to you with a desperate request and at the same time as my last hope to understand the terrible situation Deca family is facing and to help them obtain urgently the passports and the required entry visas to United States so that they can come here as soon as possible.

Please keep in mind that because of the continuous harassments for the last 4 years and 5 months, and especially the last year of sufferings and tortures not to mention that for the last 1 year they have no means of living and they are surviving due to the kindness and charity of friends, my sister is very sick and she is denied any medical assistance, because according to the law she does not have any rights as they applied for emigration.

Prolonging their stay in Romania might lead to loosing her plus our parents, who are very old and suffering they might also die as their only hope is to see their other daughther here, near them.

Being convinsed that you will do whatever is in your power to help us, I thank you very much.

Magdalena Gociman

(Gociman Magdalena)
2063 West Jarvis
Chicago, Illinois 60645
Phone: (312) 973-6242

August 20, 1984

The Coca-Cola Company
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DONALD R. KEOUGH
PRESIDENT
AND
CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER

ADDRESS REPLY TO
P. O. DRAWER 1734
ATLANTA, GA. 30301
404 676-2121

August 16, 1984

The Honorable John Danforth
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
337 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Danforth:

As you are considering the extension of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act, I would like to express my strong support for continuing the Most Favored Nation Tariff Treatment for Romania and Hungary.

The Coca-Cola Company sells Coca-Cola in both Hungary and Romania and recognizes the importance of this business to its overall operations. We value highly these business relationships and believe it is necessary to preserve the framework for this mutually beneficial trade which benefits not only my Company but the economic and political interests of the United States as well.

In 1983, the United States had an overall trade deficit of approximately $58 billion This figure has almost doubled from only the previous year.

These figures show how important it is for the U.S. to emphasize international trade as a national economic priority. We need to try even harder to achieve a positive trade balance whereby we would also be creating more jobs for Americans. Denial of fair tariff practices at this time would only have an adverse impact on the climate in which international trade can grow.

Pg. 2
The Honorable John Danforth
August 16, 1984

It is my strong belief that continuing fair trade practices with our bilateral trading partners will further benefit our trade with these countries and be in our country's best interests.

I appreciate your continuing efforts to monitor these trade agreements to insure that our country's best interests are served.

Sincerely,

Donald R. Keough

DRK:pm

The Coca-Cola Company
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DONALD R. KEOUGH
PRESIDENT
AND
CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER

ADDRESS REPLY TO
P. O. DRAWER 1734
ATLANTA, GA. 30301
404 676-2121

August 16, 1984

The Honorable John Danforth
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
337 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Danforth:

As you are considering the extension of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act, I would like to express my support for continuing the Most Favored Nation Tariff Treatment for the People's Republic of China. I would further recommend that the President's waiver authority with respect to China be extended on a multi-year basis, rather than annual renewal. This would create a climate more consistent with the expanding economic relations between our two countries.

The Coca-Cola Company has been selling Coca-Cola to China since 1979 and has opened Bottling plants in Beijing and Guangzhou. A third plant will open this year in Xiamen. The U.S.-China Trade Agreement provides a necessary structure for the kind of expansion of trade with China that will benefit not only my Company but the economic and political interests of the U.S. as well. As China moves forward with its internal modernization and economic development, continuation of a trade agreement that enables U.S. companies to participate fully will only benefit the U.S. economy.

Pg. 2
The Honorable John Danforth
August 16, 1984

In 1983, the United States had an overall trade deficit of approximately $58 billion. This figure has almost doubled from only the previous year.

These figures show how important it is for the U.S. to emphasize international trade as a national economic priority. We need to try even harder to achieve a positive trade balance whereby we would also be creating more jobs for Americans. Denial of fair tariff practices at this time would only have an adverse impact on the climate in which international trade can grow.

It is my strong belief that the continuation of fair trade practices would be in our country's own best interests and a positive factor in overall U.S.-China relations.

I appreciate your continuing efforts to monitor these trade agreements to insure that our country's best interests are served.

Sincerely,

Donald R. Keough

DRK:pm

COMPREHENSIVE®
accounting corporation

2111 COMPREHENSIVE DRIVE AURORA, ILLINOIS 60507 TELEPHONE 312/898-1234

LEO G. LAUZEN
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

July
Six
1 9 8 4

The Honorable Robert Dole
Chairman
Senate Finance Committee
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Good morning, Senator Dole:

I would like to go on record to the effect I strongly favor that Romania should again be given the status of "Most Favored Nation".

Romania is a country that repeatedly proves its consistency in fighting for peace and understanding amongst people of the world. Romania is well knownfor its interest in developing economic and cultural relations with other countries. Despite the Soviet decision not to send athletes to the Olympic Games in Los Angeles and their attempts to persuade other governments to do likewise, the Romanian government made the courageous decision to participate fully in the 1984 Olympics.

As a point of interest, I recently was Chairman of the International Franchise Association's First Annual Advertising, Public Relations and Marketing Seminar (enclosed is a copy of the agenda) in Washington D.C. While at that Seminar, we were honored by the presence of His Excellency Mircea Malitza, the Romanian Ambassador. He addressed the audience and received an enthusiastic round of applause.

The International Franchise Association is made up of almost 500 of the nation's largest franchisor companies, with franchising representing 33% of all retail sales, almost one-half million franchisees and $457 billion in sales.

I would like to express my thanks for your attention to this matter and your kind consideration of my request.

Cordially,

Leo G. Lauzen

Leo G. Lauzen
/cb

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

cc: His Excellency Mircea Malitza
Ambassador of Romania

atalanta
CORPORATION
17 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10013 • 212 431 9000

July 16, 1984

The Honorable John Danforth
Chairman of the International
Trade Subcommittee of the
Finance Committee
460 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator,

Our company wishes to present to you this testimony in support of President Reagan's recommendation in favor of the continuation of Most Favored Nation tariff treatment by the United States for its imports from Hungary.

ATALANTA has had a longstanding business relationship with Hungary which starts as far back as 1969 when our firm initiated a Veterinary Agreement between the United States and Hungary which resulted in the approval of five meat packing plants in Hungary that are today producing canned pork for export to the U.S. market.

This operation has been immensely successful with an import business of Hungarian canned meat which amounted to $33 million in 1983.

Although canned pork products are not affected by the MFN tariff, since the duty is assessed on the per pound basis, over the period of these years Hungary has offered us many other food products of high quality and highly acceptable to our market, such as cheeses, fruits, vegetables, sausages, etc., whiich will benefit from the MFN treatment.

With the deficit in the balance of payment and the debts in hard currency prevailing among many foreign countries, Hungary needs more than ever the MFN tariffs to stimulate exports to the U.S. and be given the opportunity to earn needed dollars, which ultimately will foster more exports of U.S. products to Hungary.

Very truly yours,

George G. Gellert
Chairman of the Board

ommunications use services assigned as follows: Shrimp – Lobster – Fish – Cheese Unox RCA 233400 ATA UR ITT 420682 TRADATL
– Imports of Frozen Meat ITT 422505 Communications From: Denmark – Norway – Spain – Hungary RCA 22606 ATA UR
CHES IN USA USE Western Union 126187 CABLE ADDRESS: TRADATLAN – NEW YORK.

atalanta
CORPORATION
17 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10013 • 212 431 9000

July 16, 1984

The Honorable John Danforth
Chairman of the International
Trade Subcommittee of the
Finance Committee
460 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator,

On behalf of the ATALANTA CORPORATION headquartered at 17 Varick Street, New York, I am pleased to submit our testimony in support of President Reagan's recommendation for the continuation of the Most Favored Nation Tariff treatment by the United States for imports from Socialist Republic of Romania.

The ATALANTA CORPORATION is a marketing organization for a wide variety of high quality food products which are distributed throughout the United States. These specialties are imported from over 40 countries throughout the world, inclduing processed hams and other pork cuts from Romania. During 1983 ATALANTA imported close to $11.5 million of high quality Romanian meats. In addition, ATALANTA is a member of the Romanian U.S. Economic Council which operates under the administrative scope of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, but is autonomous in matters of policy.

With the debts in hard currency prevailing among many foreign countries including Romania, the MFN tariffs are more vital than ever to give Romania the opportunity to foster its business with the United States and earn dollars toward repayment of its debt.

ATALANTA believes that through normal trade relations with such countries, the U.S. foreign and economic policy will be enhanced, leading to better overall relations between East and West. This will not only enable U.S. business to further develop trade relations with Romania, but will also be a step toward securing world peace.

On behalf of ATALANTA CORPORATION, I wish to inform the United States Senate that our company appreciates your consideration of our views.

Very truly yours,

George G. Gellert
Chairman of the Board

Moscahlades Bros. Inc.
IMPORTERS OF FINE FOOD PRODUCTS
28-30 No. MOORE STREET
New York 10013

CABLE ADDRESS
"MOSCALADES"
CODE USED
A.B.C. 5th EDITION IMPROVED

CODE 212
TELEPHONE
226- 5410
5411
5412

May 11,1984

The Honorable Robert Dole
Chairman, Senate Finance Committee
2213 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator:

On behalf of the MOSCAHLADES BROS. Corporation headquartered at 28 N. Moore Street, New York, N.Y., I am pleased to submit our support for the continuation of the Most-Favored Nation Tariff treatment by the United States for imports from the Socialist Republic of Romania.

We are importers of foodstuffs and have been doing business with the Socialist Republic of Romania for the past twenty-two years and have had their fullest cooperation.

Very truly yours,

MOSCAHLADES BROS., INC.

H. Moscahlades

HM:dk

Ommy Imports International, Inc.
77-18 30TH AVENUE · FLUSHING, NEW YORK 11370 · (212) 639-2459

May 15, 1984

The Honorable Robert Dole
Chairman, Senate Finance Committee
2213 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator,

As president of OMMY IMPORTS INTERNATIONAL, Inc. I would like to lend my company's support for the continuation of the Most-Favored-Nations Tariff treatment by the United States for imports from the Socialist Republic of Romania.

OMMY IMPORTS is a relatively new company which specializes in importing, marketing, and distributing various food products from Eastern Europe. I expect our company to import approximatlly $1.5 to $2.0 million dollars of preserved fruits, vegetables, meats, and honey from Romania during the 1984-1985 period. Although OMMY's imports from Romania are relatively small compared to the total United States-Romanian bilateral trade, I expect to increase our imports at a steady pace throughout the 1980's. The possibilities for trade expansion are limitless considering the eightfold increase in bilateral trade from 1970 to 1978 with the United States enjoying a favorable balance of trade.

Romania must be viewed as the warmest friend the United States has in Eastern Europe. It's leadership has consistently kept a relatively independent stance in East-West relations. Through normal trade relations between the two countries, the United States can only expect to enhance it's friendship with Romania and further East-West cooperation in the 1980's.

As president and principle of OMMY IMPORTS I would like to thank you for considering my personal and company's point of view.

Sincerely,

Mark Berezowsky
President

MOREY

MOREY MACHINERY, INCORPORATED
221 Cottage Street
Middletown, New York 10940
(914) 343-1851 Telex 137-491
Moreymach Middletown new york state

[illegible] MAY 11 PM 1:12

May 8, 1984

Honorable John C. Danforth
Chairman, International Trade Subcommittee for Finance
4600 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington DC 20510

Subject: REQUEST FOR SUPPORT OF ROMANIAN MOST FAVORITE NATION STATUS

Gentlemen:

We are importers and distributors of heavy machine tools used in all industries in the United States. We have recently concluded a major import agreement with the National Romanian Machine Tool Export Company (MASINEXPORTIMPORT).

We have enjoyed excellent relations and cooperation with the Romanian machine tool industry of over 20 years. We hope that this good relationship will continue indefinitely.

We strongly support and urge you to support the continuing relationship of our two countries by renewing the Most Favored Nation status of Romania. It is our understanding that other countries, such as Yugoslavia and previously Poland, had their most favorite nation status reviewed at a five year interval instead of yearly. We feel that this would be more desirable in promoting long-term business.

Most Favorite Nation status is important in making Romanian products competitive on the American market, but this effect is secondary to the promotion of a good business climate for American companies in Romania.

We feel that our business was facilitated by Romania's Most Favorite Nation Status, and urge you to support its reconfirmation.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Tanner
Vice President

RT:sd

☐ Used Machinery Division ☐ Import Division ☐ Export Division ☐ Rebuilding Division ☐ Manufacturing Division

1984 MAY 10 PM 3: 35

CHESSCO INDUSTRIES, INC. ☐ 2425 POST ROAD, SOUTHPORT, CT 06490
203/255-2804 ☐ TELEX 643-460 ☐ CABLE "CHESSCO"

May 8, 1984

Sen. John Danforth
Chairman
International Trade Subcommittee
  of the Finance Committee
4600 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Danforth: Re: USA/Romanian Trade

We have for the past nine years been the sole U. S. importers of Romanian-made ball bearing machinery and parts.

During that time, we have established a business that we believe has benefited both our countries. Under the circumstances, we recommend that Romania continues to be granted most favored nation status, and we would also ask that you consider the possibility of making this renewable on a five year basis.

Sincerely yours,

Anthony Broomer
Assistant Vice President

AB/aw

Wholly-Owned Companies & Divisions: ANCHOR/LITH-KEM-KO, INC. ☐ KOEHLER INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS, INC.
☐ PROCESS RESEARCH PRODUCTS

TESTIMONY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
ON ROMANIA
BEFORE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF THE COMMITTEE OF FINANCE OF THE U.S. SENATE[1,2]

August 8, 1984

Introduction and Recommendations

The late Senator Henry Jackson, a principal author of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, described the right to leave as "the touchstone of all human rights" and "the traditional final lifeline for victims of racial, religious, and political persecutions."[3] Our Family Reunification casework has revealed all too poignantly that this is so. This conviction has spurred us to monitor the right to leave in many countries throughout the world, including Romania. It has led us to bring appeals privately before numerous government authorities and in the United Nations. It is prompting us now to present our findings to this Subcommittee in the hope it will benefit not only the 1000 Romanian families in our caseload, but all Romanian citizens seeking permission to emigrate.[4]

Many of our cases, noted in Appendices to our testimony, reveal instances of particular hardship. Merely for trying to leave, some of these families have faced punishment under the Romanian criminal code; some have suffered *de facto* reprisals; and a number have been forced to endure interminable delays in the processing of their exit applications. The urgency of the circumstances in each of the cases prompts us to draw them to the Subcommittee's attention.

Guaranteeing the right to emigrate freely is explicitly required by the Jackson-Vanik amendment; it is also guaranteed in basic international human rights instruments.[5] In addition, family reunification is an important provision of the Helsinki Accords, and the Madrid Concluding Document.[6]

Unfortunately, the League has found that the Romanian emigration process is characterized by arbitrariness, long delay and reprisals. Instead of serving to remedy the plight of the kinds of victims Senator Jackson spoke of, this process is all too often being employed to maintain injustice.

We, therefore, **recommend** that before acting on the Presidential waiver of Section 402, this Subcommittee urge the Romanian Government to take the following steps:

(1) Stop all reprisals and abusive practices against those who seek to emigrate.

(2) Provide information regarding progress on the pending emigration cases described in today's hearing and facilitate their prompt resolution;

(3) Give priority treatment to applicants who are elderly and sick since their cases reveal compelling circumstances, and present no justification for denying emigration permission.

(4) Undertake efforts to simplify, publish domestically and ensure the uniform application of emigration procedures;

Romanian Laws Concerning Emigration

The right to leave is not safeguarded in Romanian law: it is not mentioned in the current Romanian Constitution of 1965, as amended, and there are no specific domestic laws guaranteeing the right to leave. On the contrary, various provisions stipulate lengthy and complex conditions for acquiring exit visas and passports. In the absence of legal guarantees to protect citizens' rights to leave, the State's claim of the right to control the movement of its citizens goes unchallenged. Under provisions of passport decrees, criminal codes, and civil laws which legislate movement across the country's borders, the State exercises unharnessed power to determine who may leave, when, and under what circumstances.

The Government of Romania frequently assures the international community that it uses these powers in a manner which fully comports with its obligations under international human rights law. It has even gone so far as to state publicly and unequivocally that "Romanian citizens are also able to travel to any country in the world for personal reasons or as tourists."[7]

At best this is misleading. The following examination of Romanian domestic law reveals that the right to leave is severely qualified even on the face of the legislation. A review of the League's extensive caseload demonstrates that these laws are indeed applied in such a way that an alarming curtailment of emigration rights results.

Article 12 of the Romanian Decree on Passports provides for complete government discretion in the issuance of documents for foreign travel. It empowers Romanian authorities to deny or withdraw a passport when "by going abroad, [a Romanian citizen] could prejudice the interests of the Romanian State or affect the good relationship thereof with other states."[8] The vague wording of this decree permits arbitrary denials of passports and contemplates restrictions on the right to leave far exceeding those permitted under international law, namely "those necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others."[9]

Other legal provisions ensure strict State regulation of movement from the country:

--One decree governing travel limits the validity of exit visas to only six months from the date of issue.[10]

--Another stipulates that personal travel is permitted only once every two years, with certain exceptions regarding family reunification or obtaining medical care.[11]

--Yet another makes State permission for personal travel contingent on "the limits of available foreign currencies as established for this purpose through the annual State Plan and in accordance with the criteria and preferential order established by the Resolution of Council of Ministers."[12]

--Before being permitted to leave to marry a foreign national, citizens must also seek and receive separate permission to wed from the Romanian Parliament.[13]

There is no possibility for independent judicial review of State denials of permission to travel. Under the Passport Decree, a commission of the Council of Ministers has final say concerning "all activities of issuing passports and visas, including...resolving the complaints against the decisions taken by the other authorities charged with the issuance of passports and visas."[14]

Those who peacefully try to exercise their right to leave against Government wishes face harsh criminal penalties. An unauthorized crossing of the State border, or an attempt to do so, is punishable by imprisonment from six months to three years. Mihai Petrescu, whose case has been documented by the League, was sentenced to eight months imprisonment after his attempt in 1972 to cross the Romanian border without official authorization; although he has fully served the sentence, he continues to be denied permission to leave. Peter Lung, also among the League's caseload, was apprehended while attempting to cross the Romanian border into Yugoslavia and sentenced to a six-month prison term which ended on June 3, 1982. At that time, because of a hearing problem, he was trying to go abroad for medical treatment which he could not obtain in his country.

Selective Application

As noted above, Romanian law exempts travel for purposes of family reunification and for obtaining medical care from certain restrictions applicable in other cases of personal travel (Resolution No. 424 of 1970). We have found, nevertheless, that in practice travel from Romania is severely and routinely limited irrespective of the would-be traveler's purpose.

Many of the League's cases involve family members who wish to emigrate to rejoin relatives abroad. As a result of travel denials, husbands are separated from wives, and children from parents. Even in the most compelling circumstances denials are common.

The Petrescu family wishes to go to the assistance of their grandfather, who is gravely ill. They are not permitted to leave. Elisabeth Reiger has been trying for five years to receive permission to go abroad to visit her father who is ailing, yet she has not even been able to obtain the forms necessary to begin the application procedure.

In other cases documented by the League, the applicant needs to travel to receive medical care unobtainable in Romania. Cristina Ionescu, herself a medical doctor, has been denied permission to go to the U.S., the only place where she can receive treatment for the disfiguring disease of the adrenal glands from which she suffers. Mihai Demeny has applied to go to West Germany for adequate medical attention for diabetes and partial paralysis from which he has been suffering. His daughter, who lives there, would care for him. Edith Schuller requires corrective treatment currently unavailable in Romania for a congenital back disorder. Her sister, Elisabeth Roth, also sought medical care outside Romania. She suffers from paralysis, heart disease, asthma, ulcers, and arthritis.

A Lengthy and Cumbersome Process

The inordinate delays in Romania's emigration application process, noted in last year's League testimony, continue.

Partly responsible are the cumbersome and obscure procedures of the process coupled with the bureaucratic indifference of officials. Applying to emigrate is a two-level process in which applicants must acquire, submit and receive decisions on both a "short" and "long" application form. A number of individuals have reported to us that even obtaining the forms can be a frustrating and patience-testing process. On more than one occasion it has been reported to us that after filing the applications, one or both of the forms have been "lost" or filled out incorrectly--such as containing a minor misspelling--giving officials an excuse for requiring the entire process to begin anew.

However, the length of the delays in many cases is so extended that simple bureaucratic inefficiency cannot be blamed. The League has documented 29 cases of families who first applied to leave more than 20 years ago; 17 other families who applied between 20 and 15 years ago; and another 13 families who applied between 15 and 10 years ago. Some of these families have submitted as many as twenty applications without success (Schmidt, Weiss, Muller, Wenzel, Kreuter). Many have never received any response to their applications, while others have received flat denials without explanation. There can be no doubt that such inaction reflects an intent by the authorities to deny citizens their right to leave.

"The Education Tax"

In November 1982, Romania passed its "Education Repayment Decree," which requires emigration applicants, except those above retirement age, to repay in "hard currency" the cost of education received beyond the compulsory level (10 years of schooling). Since Romanian citizens are not permitted to own foreign currency, and their own is not convertible, even a well-to-do Romanian family which wants to leave cannot buy its way out without help from abroad. This tax was clearly designed to be a virtually insurmountable obstacle to emigration. Although we reported last year on some 30 instances where this tax had been assessed (and in some cases paid), we have received no reports during the past year of its imposition upon would-be emigrants who have appealed to us. We believe the non-enforcement of this tax is due to the concern shown by this Subcommittee, its counterpart in the House of Representatives, and the Administration. If this Subcommittee were to pay concerted attention to other restrictive measures inhibiting the right to leave Romania, such as those outlined in this testimony, we believe there could be similar positive results.

Priority Appeals in 1984: The Elderly and Infirm

The League wishes to draw the Subcommittee's attention to a group of cases involving elderly and often ill applicants whose children are already in the West. There can be no justification for withholding emigration permission in these cases. The individuals concerned are pensioned, and it has been many years since they were members of the work force; in addition, these cases do not involve issues of state security.

The League has documented twenty-five such cases in the past year. They range in age from 62 to 90 years (See Appendix IV for these old people's names, ages, and addresses).

Some are seriously ill, such as:

Margarita Weiss, who is paralyzed; Mihail Teleki, who has heart disease and high blood pressure; Theresia Michelbach, who suffers from hardening of the arteries as well as stomach problems; Andreas and Anna Binder, who have, respectively, rheumatism and phlebitis; Nikolaus Tomansky, who has circulatory problems. Many of these people need medical treatment in the West, and all badly need care.

Every one of these elderly people wishes to rejoin family members in the West. Some of them are utterly alone; none of their relatives remains in Romania. Others may have one child in Romania, but at the same time have several other children in the West whom they fear they will never see again unless they are allowed to leave soon, since they are of such advanced age.

Hardship in some families is particularly acute in view of the very meager pensions on which they must subsist. In several cases, these are as low as six or ten dollars a month.

A large number of these persons have been applying for permission to leave Romania for many years, in some cases well over twenty years:

Since 1961:

Johann and Ana Becker (71 years old and 63 years old);
Peter and Johanna Mutsch (90 and 82);
Nikolaus and Johanna Tomansky (68 and 65);

Since 1962:

Mihai and Ecaterina Bodendorfer (66 and 62);

Since 1963:

Ignatz and Katharina Schmidt (81 and 77);
Petru Procker (89);

Since 1965:

Sebastian and Anna Schneider (77 and 78);
Peter and Ecaterina Schweininger (75 and 71).

In some of these long-standing cases, younger family members were allowed to leave, while their parents -- and sometimes one sibling -- were denied that permission. Separating families in this manner seems unnecessarily cruel.

As such examples make all too plain, the arbitrary nature of decisions denying the exercise of one of the most basic human rights is especially harsh and unjustifiable for this group of people, who must live every day with very little hope of ever being with their families again.

Reprisals Experienced by Applicants

In previous hearings before this Subcommittee, the League noted that in addition to the problems encountered during the application process itself, a large number of applicants are forced to suffer other reprisals and forms of harassment. The International League regrets to report that a variety of reprisals against would-be emigrants continue to be reported by the families represented in our caseload. For some, these practices signify a continued campaign of intimidation against them--the same factors which initially prompted their desire to leave; for others this treatment may mark the beginning of a long and torturous ordeal.

The forms of abuse found in our documentation include arbitrary arrest and detention; police beatings, surveillance and other types of intimidation; discrimination in employment, education, and housing; confiscation of property; the denial of medical treatment; and threats of imprisonment or involuntary internment in psychiatric institutions. These reprisals are in themselves violations of the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

At least fifteen of the League-documented cases report that they have suffered harassment at the hands of the police in connection with their desire to emigrate.

One of the most severe cases of reprisals reported to the League concerns the Galalae family. After the head of the household, Dr. Costel Galalae, applied for permission to join his wife and three of his children in West Germany, he was subjected to arrest and imprisonment on two occasions--in February and again in June 1982. In addition there were police searches of his home, and threats and denials of medical care. His patients, colleagues, and friends were repeatedly summoned to the Security Police office, where they were forced to sign declarations that he politically opposed the Government. His niece, Paruschiva Galalae, was reportedly beaten by police for refusing to sign such a declaration. During his second period of detention, beginning on June 14, 1982, Dr. Galalae was taken to Porta-Alba prison, where he was forced to do heavy labor. Despite a diseased liver, for which he has twice undergone surgery, a dangerous heart condition, an abdominal rupture, a brain spasm and fainting spells, he reportedly has received no medical treatment. On October 22, 1982, in Dr. Galalae's absence, an Appeals Court in Constanza sentenced him to four years in prison, reportedly for opposing the Government. After visiting Dr. Galalae in November, his sister has averred that he is between "life and death." On humanitarian grounds, the League urges that Dr. Galalae be permitted to receive competent medical care, as well as allowed to exercise his right to leave the country.

In another case involving reports of police brutality, the applicant, Vasile Tolan, Jr., reports being beaten by the local police after applying for permission to leave. Another example, Margaret Newmann, was summoned three times to the police station at night for interrogation about her desire to leave, during which time her young children were forced to stay at home alone. The Koos and Wester families report that after applying to emigrate their telephones have been monitored and their mail intercepted. The Ionescu and Banu families report being threatened by authorities after seeking permission to emigrate.

Discrimination in Employment and Education

In Romania, the unemployed are often treated as second-class citizens and may even be criminally prosecuted for "parasitism." Therefore, dismissal from employment can be a severe sanction for an emigration application and an effective deterrent for others who might like to apply. A number of individuals in League-documented cases were fired from their jobs soon after requesting permission to emigrate. According to our case files, twelve persons, apparently blacklisted from employment, have yet to find other work although they are skilled in their professions. Included in the League's group are an aerospace engineer (Bogdan), a hydropower expert (Gane), and teachers (Banhegyi, Glesz, Dengel, Dimitrescu, Kahles, Neumann). The case of Alexander Bogdan is particularly disturbing; an aerospace engineer fired almost two years ago, he reports being shut out of ten jobs in his field, and remains unemployed today.

In other cases, emigration applicants have been demoted to lower-paying positions far beneath their capabilities: for example, professors are being forced to work as unskilled laborers in factories (Ierugan, Ionescu, Schuller); and a factory foreman has been obliged to perform the tasks of a common laborer (Sollner).

Another work-related reprisal constitutes the transferral of some family members to work-sites located a great distance away from their homes, resulting in the forced separation of families and friends even within the country. Decebal Dimitrescu, an engineer, has been transferred to a job 300 kilometers away from his family and home of 25 years; and Mihail Vrabie was demoted to a lower-paying job 150 kilometers from his family.

Students in families applying to emigrate have reported discrimination with regard to education. A number of families report that their children have not been permitted by authorities to enroll in school (Gane, Dengel, Sauer). Gertrude Deffert was informed, after she applied to leave, that she would not receive the academic degree she had earned.

Economic Sanctions

In addition to the economic hardships resulting from job dismissals and demotions, emigration applicants sometimes suffer other economic sanctions which aggravate their position.

These measures include eviction from homes (Galalae) and confiscation of personal property (Wester). Many emigration applicants are deemed ineligible to receive State benefits such as medical and dental care, hospitalization and pensions.

In addition, some applicants, on the basis of Government assurances that permission to leave is imminent, have sold their possessions and resigned from their jobs, only to face long waits before the permission is granted.

Conclusion

The right to leave is not secured in Romania. Although a number of Romanian citizens are allowed to emigrate each year, there are many who cannot. The League has documented the cases of 1000 families who currently are being denied permission to leave Romania.

Romanian procedures concerning emigration are cumbersome and arbitrary. After applying for permission to leave, Romanian citizens face long delays, discrimination and harsh reprisals.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The International League for Human Rights is one of the oldest, non-governmental international human rights organizations. Founded in 1942, and based in New York City, it works on a broad range of human rights issues concerning countries in all regions of the world. Some current League projects address human rights violations in such diverse countries as Nicaragua, Iraq, Chile, East Germany, South Africa, Taiwan, El Salvador and Northern Ireland. The League also works closely with a network of forty affiliates in some thirty countries throughout the world.

[2] The invaluable assistance of Barbara Appel, Sandra Bieniek, Amanda Moretti, Sharon Shreders, and Robert Tarrab in the preparation of this testimony is gratefully acknowledged.

[3] Congressional Record, December 10, 1975, and June 14, 1977, Senator Jackson.

[4] Since the 1975 signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe ("the Helsinki Accords"), the International League for Human Rights began receiving a steady stream of personal appeals on behalf of Romanians who were denied the right to emigrate to rejoin family members abroad. Out of this has grown the League's "Family Reunification Project." Today the project works on behalf of over 1000 Romanian families who are unable to leave to rejoin relatives living in the West.

This testimony is based on data concerning nearly 400 of these 1000 cases who have appealed again to the League within the past year. (See Appendices I through IV). Each case has been systematically documented by the League through continuing correspondence with close family members in the West and, where possible, with the victims themselves.

[5] Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which Romania is a party, provides that "Everyone shall be free to leave any country including his own."

[6] As one of signers of the Madrid Concluding Document, Romania has agreed to the following conditions contained in that document:

1. The participating states will favorably deal with applications relating to contacts and regular meeting on the basis of family ties , reunification of families, and marriage between citizens of different states and will decide upon them in the same spirit.
2. They will decide upon these applications in emergency cases for family meetings as expeditiously as possible, for family reunification and for marriage between citizens of different states in normal practice within six months and for other family meetings with gradually decreasing time limits.
3. They confirm that the presentation or renewal of applications in these cases will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicants or of members of their families concerning _inter alia_, employment, housing, residence status,

family support, access to social or economic benefits, as well as any other rights and obligations flowing from the laws and regulations of the respective participating states.

4. The participating states will provide the necessary information on the procedures to be followed by the applicants in these cases and on the regulations to be observed, as well as, upon the applicant's request, provide the relevant forms.

5. They will, where necessary, gradually reduce fees charged in connection with these applications, including those for visas and passports, in order to bring them to a moderate level in relation to the average monthly income in the respective participating states.

6. Applicants will be informed as expeditiously as possible of the decision that has been reached. In case of refusal, applicants will also be informed of their right to renew applications after reasonably short intervals.

[7] See e.g., UN document CCPR/C/1/Add. 33, pp. 12 and 13, 31 August 1978, Report of the Government of Romania to the UN Human Rights Committee under Article 40 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

[8] Decree No. 156 of March 24, 1970, Article 12 c.

[9] See, The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 12 (3).

[10] Decree No. 156 of March 24, 1970, Article 27.

[11] Resolution No. 424/1970, Article 10d, e.

[12] Passport Decree No. 156 of March 24, 1970, Article 15. (Emphasis added.)

[13] Civil Code, Article 134.

[14] Decree No. 156 of March 24, 1970, Article 8b.

APPENDIX IA

PRIORITY

CASES:

REPRISALS

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINA-TION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC TAX
ALBU	Lucian, 8/28/48	Soseaua Colentina#76 BlocIII, Scara A, Ap32 Etaj 7 Sector 2	6/82	12/82	FRANCE	Wife of Lucian	$300
	Alin, 6/1/75 Dorina 11/6/78	Bucuresti 72446 O.P. 11					
ANTINGER	Susanna,11/11/52 Georg, 12/6/50 Jurgen, 6/5/73 Erwin 2/2/75	1981 Giarmata Str. Johannei No: 1110 Judetul Timis	7 times between 1972 & 1983.	7 times dates un- known	FRG	Andreas & Johanna Stoffel (parents of Susanna)	
BANHEGYI	Eva Klara 1971 Zoltan 1977	Tirgu Mures Pasajul Vio- letelor Nr.5 Apartment 23	10/81 2/82	Issued passport applica- tion 1/4/83 Received passport 3/24/83	CANADA	Husband Zoltan Banhegyi	$24,4
BANU	Ioan, 10/6/41 Eugenia,6/28/44 Ligia, 1/22/69 Alin, 8/13/70 Teofil, 12/5/71	Str.Poetului No.6½ Bloc 24 ScB I Ap.6 Arad,	2/28/78	4/5/79	USA	Ioan's sister Maria Metz	$30,000
BARBULESCU	Dan Mircea,8/4/50	Intrarea Maior Alexandru Cimpanu nr 6 Bucuresti VIII	10/5/81	12/18/81 9/1/82 4/1/83	USA		
BARTOLF	Elisabeth,9/29/12 Adam,7/10/39 Nikolaus,6/9/35 Hilda,8/27/38 Norbert,5/7/61	2952 Semlac 428 Judet Arad,	1961 1964 1967 4/77	1982 1965 1968 9/77 (Nikolaus) 6/78(Adam & Elisabeth)	FRG	Katharin Schoen, niece	
BINDER	Andreas,3/23/16 Anna, 10/21/21 Andreas Jr., 9/28/56	Comcata Nr.273 Jud. Brasov Cod.3044	2/28/77 6/6/80	12/4/78 6/15/81 9/3/82	FRG	Sister of Andreas	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
BLEES	Josef, 9/12/30 Resi, 8/30/34 Horst, 3/20/36 Lore, 5/5/39	1995 Ortisoara 312 Judetul Timis	7/80 9/2/81 (#50/51) 10/27/81 (#62/21) 1/22/82 (#361) 8/27/82	Dates unknown	FRG	Maria Blees, mother	$37,000 for Horst and Lore
BOGDAN	Alexandru, 9/19/33	Bdul.N.Balcescu no.24 B/5 70122 Bucharest.	9/20/80 (241412)	1/22/81 1/5/82 3/23/83 5/20/83	USA	Fiancee Angela V. Nalbantu	$18,500
BOHN	Jakob, 9/20/34 Elisabeta 6/28/35	Commune Tomnatic 458 Judetul Timis	1958 Twelve subsequent applications	1955-8/20/82 & 12 others between those dates	FRG	Desiderius Schaag, father	
CARANICA	Ana-Dorothea 6/5/48 Simona-Gabriela 6/8/73 Felip-Nicolae 12/15/77	Str. Berzei 47 Bucharest	6/18/82 10/25/82	dates unknown	FRG	Mihai Caranica Husband	$15,700
CIRY	Juliana 10/1/18 Erika 8/14/54	Str.Galilee 20 Timisoara 1900 Fratelia Circ VI	6/20/78 6/80 11/80 2/81 3/8/82	2/22/79	FRG	Brother, Rudolf Ciry	DM9,000
UNKNOWN Daughter & Husband of Tudor Cotruta and their 2 children		UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		USA	Tudor Cotruta	$7,400

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible], 3/13/25 [illegible], 9/7/21	1963 Porlan 971 Timisoara			FRG	Daughter Judith Wagner	
[illegible]	Georg, 1/13/44 Elisabeth 9/12/46 Dieter, 3/3/67 Edith, 3/3/68	Str. Ogorului 27, 2400 Sibiu	1973 1975 1978 1979 2/81 (#27973) 1/3/82	1973 1975 1978 1979 2/81	FRG	Sigrid Schneider	
[illegible]	Rosina, 8/18/12 Andreas, 12/16 '02 Rosina, 3/17/32	3463 Seica Mare 122 Jud Sibiu	Dates unknown	Dates unknown	FRG	Daughter & sister in FRG	
[illegible]	Ecaterina 9/24/26 [illegible] 11/27/26	Episcopiei St. No. 2, Bucharest.	7/79	4/2/83	CANADA	Ecaterina's sister, Eufrosina Moraru	
[illegible]	Razvan Viorel 8/9/31 Mariana 4/29/32 Diana 1/7/78	[illegible] Constantinescu No. 5 Bucharest	7/79	4/2/83	CANADA	Aunt Eufrosina Moraru	
[illegible]	Peter, 11/12/20 Anna, 8/22/22	1933 Lenauheim 655 judetul Timis	1960	dates unknown	FRG	Katharina [illegible], mother	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINA-TION	[illegible]	EDUC. TAX
FISCHER	Rosalinde 7/22/38 Horst 4/12/34 Wolfgang 10/14/60 Ramona 1/13/63 Ewald 2/10/39	Comuna Tomnatic 430, Judetul Timis.	11 times since 1950	12 times most recent 8/30/82	FRG	Grandfather: Rosidorina Schang	
FRAUENHOFFER	Nikolaus 2/2/24 Elisabeth 11/9/24 Annemarie 6/9/61	Lunga Nr.80 Com. Comlosul-Mare Judet, Timis.	10/10/76 11/78	11/10/77 11/10/79	FRG	Elisabeth Bauer, daughter.	$10,000
FREI	Juliane nee Bertolf, 7/16/46 Inge 9/5/67	2932 Semlac 428, Judet Arad.	1961 1964 1967 4/77	1962 1965 1968 9/77Nikolaus 1/78Fred 6/78Adam & Elis	FRG	Katharin Schoen, niece.	
GALALAE	Costel,1/1/32 Galilea-Dan RESOLVED	Poarta-Alba prison, Constanta Romania	dates unknown	dates unknown	FRG	wife & 2 sons and 1 daughter	
GALASEAN	Ramona Iulia 3/10/67 Lidia 9/23/68	Romana Nation-ala Str.16 Bacau 5500	9/16/82 1/6/83	4/13/83	FRG	Drs. Paul & Irina Galasean parents	
GALTER	Michael,1/4/09 Sara, 1/13/12 Horst,8/21/43 Erna, 9/2/46 Ernestine, 3/8/68 Elke, 7/7/70	Str. Gerii nr. 13, 3068 Albesti Jud. Mures Romania	7/30/74	dates unknown	FRG		

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
GANE	Sabin, 11/11/38 Nadu-Alina, 11/21/73 Dana, 12/1/78 Ana-Maria, 12/17/79	Str. 8 intr. I.L. Cara-giale sector 2 Bucharest	Obtained pass-port 6/11/82	Dates unknown	USA	Sanda Gane, wife	$30,000
GEORGESCU	Dan, 8/7/31	Cihoschi Str.10 2nd Fl. Apt. 9 Bucharest 71134	10/11/82 4/25/83	No answer as yet	SWITZER-LAND	Gabriela Sanda Georgescu wife	STr. 58,000
GOSCHY	Helmuth 3/5/38 Waltraud 3/25/60	1993 Sinnandrei No.482 Judet, Timis	12/25/80 1/18/81 4/24/81 12/10/82	3/1/83	FRG	Brother Heinrich Goschy	$20,000
HELLSTERN	Mihai, 9/28/19 Barbara, 3/15/24 Mihai, Jr. 5/15/50	1994 Curani Nr. 16, Judetul Timis,	1971 1981	5 times dates unknown	FRG	Josef Hellstern, son.	
HOMNER RESOLVED	Wilhelm, 3/8/10 [illegible]/5/14 Sigrid, 2/7/39	Florilor 4 R3050 Sighisoara	1/80	3/15/83	FRG	Ida Homer, mother.	$3,800
HORNER RESOLVED	Friederike 5/8/20, Hermann 8/10/13	Str. Friedrich Engels 10 R3125 Medias.	9/80	5/82	FRG	Ida Homer, mother	
HUGEL	Anna, 5/7/08 Josef, 10/1/32 Susanna, 8/10/34 Josef Jr. 6/10/62	Giarmata Str. Garii 953 Judetul Timis	1961 19 times subse-quently Last in 1982	19 times	FRG	Elisabeth Schoch daughter of Anna.	
IERUGAN	Gabriel, 6/14/46 Elena, 3/22/48 Iuliana, 2/19/75 Aurora, 8/2/78	Str. Aurel Vlaicu 156 Bucharest	10/80	2/10/81 5/16/81 8/25/81 3/26/82 6/13/82 (#11849)	France	Horea Augustin Ierugin, brother	$22,400

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EMIG. TAX
IONESCU	Dr. Cristina Radian 1/29/48 Victor 2/12/02	30 Traian Str.Apt.C Code 74122 Bucharest, Sector 3	2/2/80	5/22/80 8/25/80 11/4/80 2/2/81 9/17/81 5/28/82	USA	Vasile Lazar	amount unknown
IONESCU	Pavel-Mihai 11/16/49	Strada [illegible] Mierlei no. 361.7 Sc.A Ap.26 Bucharest 63 Sec.1 Code 71228	9/21/81 1/3/82 over 25 others (#73105)	11/30/81 9/1/82 3/1/83	SWITZERLAND	Gabriel Ionescu, Sister	
KAHLER	Michael 11/29/08 Anna,2/16/14	Lunga	1979 dates unknown	no response	FRG	Frieda Baffert, daughter	
KAHLER	Franz, 6/19/34 Adelheid Magdalena Marlene	1980 Comlod No. 102, Jud. Timis	dates unknown	dates unknown	FRG	Katharina Kopp	$17,000
KALCH	Maria 9/10/33 Monica 7/21/76 Michael 7/6/78 Martina 11/29/81 Mihai,6/17/51	1995 Orti- soara Nr. 112, Jude- tul Timis	1971 1981	5 times dates unknown	FRG	brother, Josef Hallstern	
KELLER	Agneta,7/16/04 Katharina Krampulz 2/11/32 Paul Krampulz 3/13/30 Wilfred Krampulz 10/3/36	Pianul de Jos 202, Judet Alba	dates unknown	10/82 and others dates unknown	FRG	Agneta Kaller, daughter	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EMIG. TAX
KILZER	Anna-Maria 12/13/36 Petru 4/28/32 Walter 10/1/60 Magdalena 8/12/08	1981 Giarmata Str. Maria 727, Judetul Timis.	1960 1981	7 times dates unknown	FRG	Elisabeth Knecht, mother	
KLECKER	Eva, 3/3/60	Bd 6 Martie 30 R-1900 Timi-soara.	6/18/80	dates unknown	FRG	Eva Seiler daughter	
KNALL	Volkmar, 6/3/32 Irmtraut 1/31/52 Elke,4/24/77	R-3050 Sighisoara Str.Gh. Doj.179 Jud.Mures	3/79 2/9/83	Over 20 refusals dates unknown	FRG	Sigrid Wagner sister	DM 20,000
KOOS	Maria,4/4/35	Codrului Str.2 apt.7 Timisoara	dates unknown	dates unknown	CANADA	Eric Soltan Koos, husband	$3,700
KUNAUS	Katharina 3/23/57 Hans 10/15/34 Heinz 6/28/79 Harold 6/22/79	Giarmata Str. Garii 933 Judetul Timis	1961 19 times subsequently most recently 1982	19 times most recently 1982	FRG	Elisabeth Schoch, Aunt	
LEGO	Elisabeth 11/9/60	Lunga Nr.80 Com.Comlosul-Mare Judet.Timis.	10/10/76 11/78	11/10/77 11/10/79	FRG	Elisabeth Bauer granddaughter	
LOCH	Wilfred 6/18/29 Barbara 9/8/35 Martin 10/17/03 Magdalena 4/24/09	Str.Romanitie Nr.20,1900 Timisoara-Friedhorf	1964 1970 1/8/80 11/20/81 and 20 others	3/30/79 1980 1981 1982		Mrs. Geerlende Goetz, daughter	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
LOCHNER	Andreas, 9/14/37 Johanna, 6/23/38 Andreas, 9/14/62 Johanna, 3/17/63 Robert Hans, 6/5/71 Katharina, 4/7/14	2589 Urwegen- Girbova 465 Kreis Karlsburg Alba, Judet	9/31/81 10/30/81 3/1/83		FRG	Johanna Feyri, mother	DM30,000
LORIS	[illegible] 10/14/36	Mecil str. No. 842 1981 Giarmata Judetul Timis	since 1961	1961 1977 1978 1982	FRG	Magdalena Weber, daughter	
LUNG	Ana,9/25/23 Gerhard Peter Anton 10/21/19 Gerhard Peter,8/29/57	Bd.6 Martie 30 R-1900 Timisoara	6/18/80	dates unknown	FRG	Eva Seiler, sister	
MIRON	Doina, 4/25/57	Str.Bach 1A Sc.C, Ap.52 Sect.2 71436 Bucharest 30	not yet possible		USA	Christian Neculescu	$20,000
NEDELESCU	Emil,7/7/44 Livia,2/14/45 Mihai,5/5/69 Christian, 11/12/74	Calea Grivitei Nr.107, Bl.3 Et.I Ap.40 Sector I R-7000 - Bucharest	9/80 10/80 2/81 6/81 1/82 3/82 7/82 2/83	1/81 5/81 7/81 1/82 9/82 3/83	FRG	Uncle, Johann Schmiedigen	
NEUMANN	Margaret 6/18/34 Antje 4/6/77 Hans-Thomas 10/19/80	Nic.Titulescu 27 1900 Timisoara,	10/81 4/82	3/82	FRG	Husband, Hans Neumann	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
[illegible]	Mihai, 2/14/53 Dorothea 1/16/56 Mihai Eugen 9/19/77 Barbara 3/22/79	Strada Nova 208 Ghimbav 2251 Brasov	7/18/82	7/23/82	FRG	Grandfather & Aunt of Dorothea	
RADULESCU	Germaine 4/24/25 Nicolae 2/3/15	Str. Stirbei Voda #2 Apt. 120, Et III Bucharest	11/81	3 times dates unknown	FRG	Sofia Kirschbaum Aunt, & others	unknown
REIGER	Elisabeth 8/28/39 Wendelin 8/1/32 Anna 6/21/59	Sinmartin Nr.217 Judet Arad	1978 & Monthly thereafter	dates unknown	FRG	Father, Anton Kampf	DM7,000 per person
RENG	Friedrich, 3/3/41 Magdalena, 7/1/47 Dietmar, 7/28/70 Arno, 8/25/73	Bd. Leo Salajan 10/16a Sc. B, etaj 7, ap. 2A 1900 Timisoara	1961 1962 1964 4/6/77 8/80 3/20/81 (#3126) 9/1/81 (#5042) 1982	4/20/77 4/81 (#7379)	FRG	Peter Bettyan, uncle	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EMIG. TAX
RENG	Rosalia, 3/21/09	Str. Circum-valatiunii 29/6 ap.106 judetul Timis	1961 1962 1964 4/6/77 8/80 3/20/81 (#3126) 9/1/81 (#3042) 1982	4/20/77 4/81 (#7379)	FRG	Peter Bettyan, brother	
ROTH	Elisabeth 9/14/16	2463 Seica Mare 466 Jud Sibiu	dates unknown	dates unknown	FRG	Daughter, grandson	
SAUER	Erika, 11/30/33 Kurt, 8/21/31 Volker, 11/2/59 Juergen, 1/7/62	Alex. Vlahuta 7 R2400 Sibiu	1/19/65 2/70 3/19/77 7/80	1966 11/8/70 11/81 9/26/81 11/81	FRG	Roswitha Froehlich, sister	
SCHNEIDER	Sebastian 9/24/07 Anna 11/ 4/06 Christof 12/22/33 Barbara 2/29/40 Walter 11/17/43 Erich 2/10/46	Giarmata Str. Viilor 594 judetul Timis	9 times between 1965 & 1982	9 times dates unknown	FRG	Daughter, Anna Schmidt	
SCHULLER	Renate 3/13/57 Edith 12/4/61	2463 Seica Mare 122 Jud Sibiu	dates unknown	dates unknown	FRG	Aunt, Uncle Cousins	
SOLLNER	Maria,3/16/34 Martin,2/22/30 Annemarie 8/9/55 Manfred,11/8/69	Commune Sin-martin nr. 11, Judet Arad,	1/14/79 2/17/79 3/27/82 7/21/79 9/20/79 2/10/79 2/25/80 8/19/80 10/7/80 11/7/81 2/17/82 7/27/82 2/1/83 4/19/83	12/3/81 (reg.No. 43092)	FRG	Maria Fackelman, mother	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBER	EMIG. TAX
BOLLNER	Martin,6/3/35 Barbara,4/30/39 Adalbert,3/17/62	Comuna Sînmartin nr.666 Judet. Arad	1/14/79 7/21/79 9/20/79 12/20/79 1/25/80 8/19/80 10/7/80 11/1/81 2/17/82 3/27/82 7/27/82 2/1/83 4/19/83	12/3/81 (#43002)	FRG	Maria Pachelmann, grandmother	
STEFANESCU	RESOLVED Stefan Anton 1/13/46 [illegible] 7/27/48 Andrea Ileana 7/25/73	100 Bri-tarului Str. Bloc 14A,Apt.2 7000 Bucharest Sect.3, Tel.48-74-44	12/18/79 (138824) 4/80	12/18/80 3/18/81 4/18/81 6/28/81 8/1/81 12/1/81 3/20/82 7/15/82	SWITZERLAND	Aristotel & Cornelia Pavelescu, parents	$23,63[illegible]
STRAT	Gheorghe 3/7/24 Nona 11/17/27 Teodor 2/7/57	Str.Dogarov Nedelea 12 1900 Timisoara	11/79 1/80	3/81	U.S.A.	daughter Eugenia Grosner	$30,000
TOLAN	RESOLVED [illegible]9/27 Rolland,4/18/62	Porisirii 13, 3400 Cluj-Napoca, Jud. Cluj.	dates unknown	dates unknown	USA	Son, Victor Tolan	$32,000
TOLAN	Vasile Jr.	Str. 8 Mai Bloc 6, Sc.3 Apt.43 Tg-Jiu, Jud. Dolj,	dates unknown	dates unknown	USA	Brother Victor Tolan	
VASILESCU	Maria Steriana 3/12/98	Strada Cristescu Dimma nr.1 Bloc 105C Apt.46 73324 Bucharest III	4/82	dates unknown	USA	Uncle, Octavian Ghitulescu	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS
VASILESCU	Radu,1/25/52	Soseaua Iancului nr. 37, Bloc 103 B.etaj 12 apt.46 73376 Bucharest	2/81 12/9/81 7/5/82 2/16/83	9/28/81 1/3/82 8/6/82 2/19/83	U.S.A.	Octavian Ghitulescu, Uncle
VRABIE	Mihail Cornelia 1/4/39 Claudia,4/10/74	Aleea Cimpul cuFlori No.2, Bloc B27 Apt.39 6 District Bucharest	3/6/81	2/10/81 3/12/83	USA	Elena Vrabie, wife
WESTER	Dittmar Klaus 6/7/44 Maria 3/27/44 Beatrice 6/18/71	Blvd.Lenin 8 apt.7 R-2200 Brasov	1970 annually, last in 1983	1970, 1983 & 10 times in between	FRG	Hellmar Wester, brother
WOLF	Sieglinde 2/28/60	1966 Comlosul Lunga 126 Jud-Timis	6/80 26 subsequent applications	dates unknown	FRG	Husband Werner Wolf

APPENDIX IB

PRIORITY
CASES:

LONG DELAYS

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDU. TAX
BARTH	Anne-Marie 8/9/55 Adam 7/4/49 Karin 5/14/76 Dietlinde 8/3/81	Giarmata 278 judetul Timis	1961	1964 1967 1981 1982 1983	FRG	Eva Tyotsits, sister	
ENGELMANN	Andrei 10/28/37 Magdalena-Katharina 1/10/33	Johannisfeld 262 jude. Timis	1972	Seven refusals; dates unknown	FRG	Nikolaus Engelmann, son	
FARKAS	Eugen 3/31/56 Ana 5/20/58 Bernhard Bruno	communa Voitena 444 judetul Timis	1972	Seven refusals, dates unknown.	FRG	Maria Hufflotz, sister	
FROM	Nikolaus 4/14/29 Ana 11/29/32	communa Voitena 444 judetul Timis	1972	Seven refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Maria Hufflotz, daughter	
FUNK	Peter 2/10/29 Eva 4/6/29 Ingrid 12/10/68	1981 Giarmata 278 judetul Timis	1962		FRG	daughter and sister, Katherina Kaltor	
GABRIEL	Adam 12/24/36 Charlotte 8/5/41 Udo 3/9/64 Frank 3/15/68 Nikolaus 2/26/1897	Vivar 54 Judâtul Timis	4/15/66	11/20/80	FRG	Peter Waldner	
GHERDA	Eugen 3/21/22 Elena Maria 4/3/28 Lucian 5/11/51 Agneta Ekaterina 3/15/53	Frasinului 3 Sc Bap.20 1900 Timisoara	1962	1969 1973 1978	FRG	Father and brother, Konstantin Gherda	
GHERDA	Tiberiu 5/4/55 Olimpia 2/20/56 Robert b. 1980	Str.Barnutiv 46 1900 Timisoara	1962	1969 1973 1978 1982	FRG	Father-Konstantin Gherda	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
GOSCHY	Josef 12/19/31 Elisabeth 11/18/38 Josef 4/10/59 Ewald 2/4/62	Sinandrei NR 525 Jud. Timis	1964 12/70 1977 7/80	1965 1972 1979	FRG	Agnes Pinzhoffer	
GRIESS	Mariana Ignatz	1981 Giarmata Nr. 863 jud. Timis	1969	8 refusals dates unknown	FRG	Peter Reser Mathias Ressler	
KILIAN	Mateia 7/10/30 Varvara 4/17/34 Verlove 3/30/58	Giarmata VII186 Jud. Timis	1965	7 refusals dates unknown	FRG	Berta Kilian	
KRAMER	Matei 10/2/29 Susana 4/20/32 Ana Loris 9/8/01	Giarmata Str. Morii No. 739 Jud.Timis	Several applications since 1962		FRG	Children Susanna Loris and Matei Kramer	

also 11 refusals of a tourist passport to visit relatives

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
KREUTER	Nikolaus 8/21/28 Elisabeta 1/13/32 Albinger, Ana 12/21/09	Giarmata 215 judetul Timis	1962 and every year subsequent	Twelve times, three between 1980 and 1983, dates unknown	FRG	Elisabeta Schlosser, Bock, daughters	
KRONENBERGER	Petru b.1893 Magdalena 7/5/54 Sabine 7/3/75 Harald 3/31/80	1981 Giarmata 245 judetul Timis	1964	Eight refusals dates unknown	FRG	Nikolaus Weldi, brother	
LAY	Johann 2/16/26 [illegible] Peter 9/1/52	Communa Sacalaz Str.1 No 38 Jud.Timis	1964	1965 and s,everal times subsequently	FRG	Magdalena Thierjung mother	
LIND	Thomas 10/10/15 Katharina 11/24/12	Covaci 217 Jud. Timis	1964	1965	FRG	Sister	

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC TAX
LORIS	Anton 3/22/36 Elisabeta 3/20/17	1981 Giarmata 104 judetul Timis	1970 subsequently dates unknown	Nine refusals dates unknown	FRG	Katharina Loris, wife	
MARTIN	Midheel 3/02/35 Anna 6/8/36 Elfrieda 6/10/864 Alfred 3/20/39 Elvine 9/5/64	1981 Giarmata 203	1972 1977 1978 1980 1982	Nine refusals dates unknown	FRG	Gertruda Schicht mother	
MUHLBACH	Petre 5/23/13	1955Lenauheim 196 judetul Timis	1967 and weekly since 1/83	Eight refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Balmine Belz, daughter	
MULLER	Christef Magdalena	1955 Lenauheim 196 judetul Timis	1969	eight refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Balmine Belz, daughter	
MULLER	Nikolaus 4/9/31 Elisabeth 12/30/32 Elisabeth 11/19/60	Calea Torontalului 27 Timisoara	1972 Summer/80 every month subsequently	1973	FRG	Barbara Rohrich, sister	
NEISS	Julius 2/8/22 Barbara 10/19/29 Manfred 12/23/52 Ecaterina 2/12/57 Heidi 6/18/79	communa Becicherecul Mic-Satul Dudestii Noi 239 judetul-Timis	1962 1971 1977 1978 1982	1963 1972 1977 1/1983	FRG	Julius Neiss, son	
NIX	[illegible]2 [illegible]/16/54 Eleanora Eva 6/25/75	Str. Nova 98 Giarmata Jud. Timis	1961		FRG	Marianna Wagner Mother	
ORTH	Anna Georg	1981 Giarmata Str. Nona viv.42 judet Timis	1963	13 refusals, dates unknown		Kramer Susanna	
REMMEL	Anton 3/11/10 Eva 1/27/29 Barbara 9/25/02	1961 Sinpetra Mic Nr70 Judetul Timis	1960	Seven times, dates unknown	FRG	Walter Remmel, son	

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINA-TION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EMIG. TAX
ROSNER	Erna Josef Manfred Lothar	1961 Simpetru Mic Nr. 70 judetul Timis	1963	13 refusals dates un- known	FRG	Kramer Susanne	
ROSNER	RESOLVED [illegible]27 Franz 3/5/1899	Str.Noua 98	1961		FRG	Marianne Wagner- Mother	
RUTTNER	Peter 3/11/11 Maria 10/28/20	1981 Giarmata Str.Principala 443 judetul Timis	1961	1962 1963 1980 1981 1982	FRG	Erna Hay, daughter	
SCHICHT	Nicolae 6/20/09	comuna 1983 Bencec de Sus 218 judetul Timis	1972	1974 1977 1978 1980 1982	FRG	Gertrude Schicht, wife	
SCHILLER	Eva 12/8/27 Margareta 1/23/12	Giarmata 172 judetul Timis	1961	1964 1967 1975 1981 1982 1983	FRG	Eva Tyesits, daughter	
SCHIPPER	Johann 2/11/27 Barbara 1/29/21 Barbara 11/10/01 Helmut 2/8/66	Com.Biled Nr.91 Uihei Judet.Timis	1970 1980	1971	FRG	Eva Haag daughter	
SCHLOSSER	Jakob 5/29/13 Barbara 9/14/18	Giarmata 735 judetul Timis	1962 1966 1969 1972	dates unknown	FRG	Josef Schlosser, son	
SCHMIDT	Ewald 10/7/54 Elvine 10/19/57 Helmut 8/21/82	Str.Nicolae Andreescu 130 1900,Timisoara VII judetul Timis	1961 1/17/80 every week subsequently	Most recent 5/82	FRG	Leopoldine Hartmann grandmother	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDU TAX
SCHMIDT	Erna 7/5/56 Francisc 5/10/53	Str. Nicolae Ardeleanu 150 1900 Timisoara VII	1965	7 refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Leopoldine Hartmann, grandmother	
SCHNEIDER	Adam 2/4/26 Ecaterina 12/14/27 Matei 4/9/59	1981 Giarmata Nr.3 Jud. Timis	1963	9 refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Kalman, Annemari (daughter)	
SCHNEIDER	Annemari 2/26/55 Michael 6/1/50 Evelin 12/2/74	Giarmata No. 950 Jud. Timis		1962	FRG	Josef & Anna Zeich	
SCHIMMER	Matei 7/15/16 Rosina 7/22/20 Josef 11/16/44 Margareta 3/31/54 Claudia Iris 4/19/71 Harold Erich 7/3/73	Andrei Nicolaescu Nr.36Timisoara	1964		FRG	Rosalia	
SINK	Ioan 11/1/24 Mariana 4/22/31 Edgar 6/17/72 Silke 4/28/76	1981 Giarmata 854 Judetul Timis	1969	Nine times refused, dates unknown	FRG	Anna Kassnel, daughter	
STEFAN	Ion 3/12/28 Ecaterina 3/30/29 Ecaterina 8/24/07 Eva Jasch 4/20/57 Josif Jasch 1/13/57	1981 Giarmata No.187 Jud.Timis		1961	FRG	Mathias Stephen (son)	
STEFAN,	Jakob 8/28/1890 Matei 2/16/15 Ecaterina 7/22/22	Giarmata No.572 Jud. Timis		1961	FRG	Jakob Stephen (son)	
WEISS,	Fulop 6/29/05 Margareta 4/15/09	Covaci 71 Judetul Timis	1972 summer /80 every month subsequently	1973 1979	FRG	Barbara Rohrich, daughter	
WELDI	Francisc 9/2/33 Ana-Maria 8/16/33 Geier b. 1914	1981 Giarmata 273 Judetul Timis	1964	Eight refusals, dates unknown	FRG	Nikolaus Weldi,	
WENZEL	Etelca 10/17/34 Iosif 6/11/32 Ramona 10/20/67	Str. Nicolae Andreescu, 15 1900 Timiso-[illegible]a VII [illegible]etul Timis	1961 1/17/80 every week subsequently		FRG	Leopoldine Hartmann, mother	

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	APPLIED	REFUSED	DESTINATION	SEEKING TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS	EDUC. TAX
WOLF	Manfred 7/2/30 Elfriede 11/20/32 Michael 3/21/74 Monika 6/27/77	1863 Sinnicolaul Mare-Statia Electrica Judetul Timis	1960	Seven times dates unknown	FRG	Walter Rommel, brother	
ZEICH	Georg 7/8/29 Eva 11/22/29	Giarmata No.950 Jud. Timis		1962	FRG	Josef & Anna Zeich (Georg's Parents)	

APPENDIX II

OTHER APPEALS
RECEIVED IN THE
LAST 90 DAYS
(APRIL-JUNE 1983)

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
BROOS	Hans-Fritz Marie-Sigrid Corina	9 Mai St. 24 Sibiu Hermannstadt	1/21/71
BRAUN	Sofia-Emilia	9 Mai St. 24 Sibiu Hermannstadt	5/31/77
MAYER	Wilhelm Luisa Willi Rudolf Luisa	Str. Haripiei No. 6 Scara B ap. Z.R. 1900 Timisoara Colea/Sagului jud. Timis	Date Unknown
MAYER,	Katharina	Spl.T Vladimirescu 32 1900 Timisoara	10/5/78
GYORBIRO	Adelheid Julius Alexandra	Plata Romanilor 8 Timisoara	4/79
ORNER	Jakob	Zorilor 12 1800 Lugoj jud. Timis	1981
STIRNER	Heinrich Ada Gerhard	Str. 23 August 8 2475 Agnita jud. Sibiu	12/80
TELEKI	Mihaly	Str. Narciselor 4 4300 T6 Mures	—
USINEVICIU	Elena-Lalioara	Str. Matei Basarab 100 Rimnicu-Sarat jud. Buzau	8/82-short forms
TUTUNARU	Corina	Faurei Str. 5 Bloc C ap. 143 Bucharest	10/80
HAMES	Anna	Str. Triumfului 3 Timisoara	3/20/80
FEISTHAMMEL		1468 Teremia-Mica 18 jude. Timis	4/77
MARTIN	Aurelia Frederic Aloisia	Str. GH. Lazar 21 Bloc F1, Scara A ap.15 Timisoara	10/79

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
PAUN	Loria Mihaela	Str. Minotaurului 71 Sec. 5 Bucharest	8/80
KIRCHGAESSNER	Peter Helen Herbert	1955 Lenauheim No. 433 jud. Timis	Unknown
REITZ	Elisabeth Johann	Str. Snagor 25 Timisoara	1964
LUPULESCU	Lela	Str. Cerna nr. 19 Timisoara	1980
STOIADIN	Baltazar Anna Alfred Roswita	Giarmata, str. Sifoanelor Nr. 339 judetul Timis	1961
BIEBER	Katherine [illegible] Monika Erwin	Calea Sagului 74 ap. 26 1900 Timisoara	1/13/64
KNOEBEL	Maria Alfred Arno	Str. snagor 25 Timisoara	1964
MUSSLER	Ingrid Erwin Rosa	Str. J Vladimirescu 4 1953 Jimbolia jud. Timis	4/26/81
HAAS,	Johan	Giarmata No. 586 judetul Timis	8/14/81
VOGELHUBER	Georg	Str. 10, No. 31a Kreis Hermannstadt Grossau, Sibiu	8/81
DAN	Catalin Carmen Matei	Str. Radu Cristian Nr. 4 Et. 1 Ap. 7 Bucharest	5/23/81
SCHMIDT	Elisabeta Jakob Margareta Kristine Barbara	Giarmata Str. Johann 1107 Timis	1975
RUZICSKA	Barbara	Giarmata Str. Johann 1107 Timis	1975

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
SEHL,	Anna	Giarmata 318 judetul Timis	1959
NIKLAS	Annaliese	Comuna Pecial Nov 434 judetul Timis	9/81
PELGER	Susanna	2442 Sura-Mica 94	8/28/81
KARSAI	Zoltan	B'dul Lenin 25 Cluj-Napoca	Summer 1980
POPESCU	Ioan Viorica Radu Ecaterina	Str. General Cernat 17 Bucharest Sect. 1	6/7/80
HEILMANDL	Nicolae Ana Ana	Comuna Tomnatic 713 judetul Timis	1978
FLAGNER	Gerlinde Hans	Str. Abatorului 8 R-3125 Mediasch jud. Sibiu	Unknown
ROEMERS	Roland Erika Arne	2221 Risnov strada Fieriton 62 jud. Brasov District Kronstadt	Unknown
SAUERMANN	Josef Ecaterina	Str. GH.DOJA Nr.1 1900 Timisoara	1/16/79
FISCHER		Bul. 8 Mai 139 Or. Sacele jud. Brasov	10/4/82
ERACHESCU	Cristian	Str. Serdarului 13 Bloc 48, ap. 211 Bucharest sector 1	11/2/81
KIRSNER	Franz Magdalena	Orawiza Str. Mircea 3 jud. severin	Unknown
ZETTO	Franz Marianne	Lugorsh str. Unisi 1.	Unknown

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
MICHELBACH	Adolf Heidrun Rainer Renate-Alice	1985 Masloc 279 jud. Timis	12/4/75
SEILER	Margareta	1985 Masloc 279 jud. Timis	12/4/75
BOTTESCH,	Johann Maria Astrid Renate	Str. Deva 31 R-2400 Sibiu	11/22/80
KESSLER	Edda	Str. 13 Decembrie Nr. 30 ap. 17 1900 Timisoara	4/80
DEPNER	Johann Sara Johann, Jr.	3042 Ticusi 457 judetal Brasov	11/7/78
PETRUS	Emilia Andrei	Str. J.J. Rousseau 5 ap. 3 3400 Cluj	1981
LIPPET	Ioan Margaretha	1963 Periam 333 judet Timis	10/14/82
LOHN	Emma Werner Herbert	Str. Justitiei, 14, jud. Sibiu	8/78
SCHRAMM	Vasile Rolf Emmy Anneliese	Str. Justitiei 14 jud. Sibiu	8/78
[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	3050 Sighisoara Str. Plopilor 24, et. 3, ap. 14	2/79
SCHMIDT	Anneliese	R-2458 Apoldul de sus Nr. 352 judetul Sibiu	—

RESOLVED

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
ADORIAN	Sofia Gabriela Virgil Simona	74655 Aleea Blocurilos 4 Bloc. M 42 Et.4 Ap. 17 Sec.4	1980
BINDER	Anneliese RESOLVED	Str.Labirint 12 Apt. 59 Circumvaltiunii 3 1900 Timisoara	4/4/81
BRANTSCH	Udo Rosemarie Udo Rolf	2261 Sercaia 198 Kreis Brasov	2/24/77
COCRON	Elisabeta	Comuna Tomnatic 693 Judetul Timis	1975
STEFANI	Richard Marianne Christian Uwe	Str. Scoala de Inot 18 2400 Sibiu	11/19/79
STREITMATTER	Carol	Str. Brincoveanu 12 Lugoj	1979
TRENDLER	Michael Maria Johann Charlotte Thomas Johann Maria Ignatz Margaretha Schwarz, Anna	str. Cehov 17 1900 Timisoara	unknown
URBAN	Nikolaus Elisabetha Knobl , Wiltsaud	Str. Snagov 25 1900 Timisoara	1965

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
FRENDT	Andreas Eva Ernst Annemarie Sonja	Bulevardul Plevati 110 1900 Timisoara	unknown
FRIEDRICH	Wilhelm Hermine Bruno	Str. Tomas Ionescu 4 Medias	3/12/81
FROMBACH	Elisabeta Ioan Elisabetha Ioan Erika Helene	Giarmata 318 Judetul Timis	1959
GARTNER	Katarina	1938 Peciul- Nou Nr.175 Judetul Timis	unknown
GEMES	Alexander Barbara	1954 Grabati Nr. 226 Jud-Timis	6/1981
HEIB	Nikolaus Katarina Ewald Anneliese	Str. Tigrului 45 1900 Timisoara	3/79
KERST	Johann Herta Dietmar	Dinicu Golescu Str.4 2400 Sibiu Judetul Sibiu	11/17/76
KLEIN	Anna-Theresia Tiberiu	Suceava 14 Offic. Post 8 1900 Timisoara	1/29/82

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
KLUSCH	Wolfgang Peter Anneliese Manfred	Calugareni Str.3 2400 Sibiu	1/78
KOCH RESOLVED	Dr.Friedrich Matthias [illegible] Susanne	unknown	unknown
KRAFFT	Michael	Str. Caraiman 44 R-2221 Jud. Brasov	11/4/81
KRAUSS	Inge Dittmar Udo	Neculuta Str.14 2400 Sibiu	3/81
LENHARDT	Hans Gisa Maria	1938 Peciul- Nou 175 Judet, Timis	1980
MIESS	Andreas Hildegard	Str. Caraiman 19 R-2221 Risnov	10/12/79
MUELLER	Helmut Norma	HipodromIII bloc 89 apt. 32 2400 Sibiu	1979
MULLER	Sigrid Fritz UteChrista ElkeHeide	Str. Prof. Span Nr. 1 Sibiu	2/78
MULLER	Wilhelm Elisabeth Wilhelm Lisbeth Ditmar Krista Anita Bernd	Str. Apararii 3 2437 Cisnadie	1981
NEUBAUER	Martin Katharina Hildemarie Michael Gerlinde	Tirnavioara 120 3138 Copsa Mica Judetul Sibiu	unknown

LAST NAME	FIRST NAMES	ADDRESS	FIRST APPLIED
POLLING	Lotte Helmutt Bettina Martina	comuna Tomatic 199 judetul Timis	1969
ROTH	Rozalia Nicolae Horst	comuna Tomatic judetul Timis	1969
ROTH	Franciac Magdalena	comuna Tomatic 232 judetul Timis	1969
ROTH RESOLVED	Hilda [illegible] Hans Werner Ortwin	Orsmnis 29 Judetul Mures 3088	unknown
SCHNEIDER RESOLVED	Sofia [illegible]	2417 Miercurea- Sibiu Nr.16 judetul Sibiu	9/80
SCHMIDT	Christine Margareta Jakob Elisabeta Barbara	1911 Giarmata Str. Johann 1107 judetul Timis	1975
SCHMIDT	Hildegard	Calugareall Str.5 2400 Sibiu	12/80
SCHREIBER	Peter Margareta Helmuth Hartwig Maria	comuno Tomatic judetul Timis	1976
SCHULZ	Dietmar	Str. Filipescu 5 1900 Timisoara	9/82
SKERBEK	Walter Dora Gudrun	Str. Nova 208 Ghimbav 2251 Brasov	7/18/82

APPENDIX III

APPEALS RECEIVED

IN 1984

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
ACKERMANN, Josef, Susana, Ewald,	Giarmata
ALBINGER, Ecaterina	Giarmata
ALBINGER, Matei, Ecaterina	Giarmata
ALBINGER, Mathias, Suzanne, Edeltraud, Elisabeth (Buch), Mathias (Buch), Christoph (Buch).	Pishcia
ALTMAYER, Petru, Elisabeth, Walter, Eva.	Lenauheim
ANHEUR, Ecaterina, Johann, Rita	Peciul Nou
ANDRESCU, Mihal	Bucharest
ARZ, Johann, Kurt	Medias
ARZ, Karl, Karin	Agnetheln
AUBERMANN, Ecaterina, Matei, Erwin.	Peciul Nou
AUDI, Nicolae, Rozalia	Jimbolia
BARNA, Viorel	Oradea
BARTH, Waldtraud, Franz, Thomas, Andrea	Timisoara
BASTING, Nicolae, Eva	Giarmata
BAUER, Claudia, Werner	Masloc
BECKER, Elisabeth, Josef, Katharina, Adelheit, Arthur	Peciul Nou
BECKER, Hans, Helmut, Anna, Harta, Gerlinde, Marianne, Bruno, Astrid.	Vulcan
BEISSMAN, Stefan, Gerlinde, Bettina	Pischia
BEISSMANN, Stefan, Anna, Elisabeth (Jost)	Timisoara
BENEDEK, Pavel, Tatiana	Colentina
BERENZ, Nicolae, Katharina, Nicolae, Jr.	Sampetro
BIEBER, Stefan, Anna, Stefan, Elke	Peciul Nou

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
BINDER, Stefan, Veronika, Anton, Elisabeth, Elvine, Brunehilde.	Iecea Mare
BOCK, Paul, Regina,Karol, Paul Renate	Communa Selimberg
BRANDL, Veronika, Klaus Ulrich, Claudia, Karla, Horst, Gunter.	Iecea Mare
BRANDL, Victoria, Otto, Elke, Bruno	Termina Mare
BRANDL, Werner, Renate, Ralf, Uwe	Peciul Nou
BRAUN, Dieter, Rita, Karl	
BERGERMEISTER, Gerlinde, Hans	Moravita
CAPOTA, Petre	Bucharest
CHERCIU, Mirella	Timisoara
CHRISTIAN, Matthias, Susanna, Matthias	Peciu Nou
COCRON, Elisabeth	Tomnatic
CZIVAY, Nikolaus, Elisabeth, Anna, Elisabeth (Stein) Mathias (Stein).	Peciu Nou
DAIBEL, Helmut, Gertrud.	Mediasch
DANCI, Margareta, Eugenia.	Arad
DENGEL, Elisabeth, Dieter, Edith	Strada Ogorului
DIAN, Francisc, Anna, Annemarie (Seeger) Herbert (Seeger), Silvia (Seeger), Elisabeth (Anheuer).	Peciu Nou
DOBRESCU, Franziska, Johann, Dietmar Darius.	Timisoara
EBINGER, Peter, Eva.	Bulgarus
EBNER, Josif, Katharina, Josif, Anne Marie (Tasch).	Giarmata
EICHINGER, Petru, Barbara, Anna (Poyte), Ion (Poyte) Eva (Poyte)	Giarmata
ENGELMAN, Ecaterina	Peciu Nou
ESPERSCHIDT, Andreas, Annaliese, Herta.	Sinpetru Mare

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCENCE
ESPERSCHIDT, Nikolaus, Hilde, Gundolf, Egbert.	Tomnatic
FANDER, Anton, Katherina, Anton,Jr.,Elisabetha, Werner.	Masloc
FARCAS, Paul, Franziska.	Peciu
FERCH, Margareta. Elisabeth, Johann, Sigelhind, Angela, Nikolaus Lux.	Jud. Timis
FIGULI, Martin, Agneta, Martin, Anna.	Com Slimnic
FORTLER, Valentin, Katherina, Walter, Gerhard.	Sanmihaiul
FRANK, Ecaterina, Teresia.	Timisoara
FRANK, Rosalia.	Janova
FRANZEN, Mathias, Barbara	Jimbolia/Banat
FREKOT, Andreas, Ewa, Ernst, Annemarie, Sonja.	Timisoara
FREY, Margareta	Masloc
FROMBACH, Renate, Herbert, Alexandra.	Sanandre
GADELMEIER, Hermine, Josef, Heinz, Christa, Margarete (Schemmel) Mark.	
GARTNER, Ioan, Susanna, Eduard.	Giamata
GAUG, Edith, Werner, Alfred.	Sagu
GEHL, Horst, Maria, Helga, Volker (Mehrbrot), Dagmar (Mehrbrot).	Sibiu
GEIER, Elisabeta, Josif, Ecaterina, Hildegard, Anita.	Giarmata
GEIER, Peter, Elisabeth, Freddy, Gunther.	Giamata
GERBER, Francisc, Hella, Josif (Csaftary), Magdalena (Csaftary).	Nichidorf
GERING, Josef, Katharina.	Giarmata
GIRSCHT, Friedrich, Johanna, Sofia.	Medias

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
GLASS, Eva. Hedwig, Adam, Melitta, Harald (Ganger).	Varias
GOTZ, Elisabeth, Elisabeth.	Pischia
GOTZ, Eva, Francisc.	Pishcia
GRIFFATON, Josif, Ecaterina, Jacob (Bastien), Francisca (Bastien).	Tomnatic
GRIFFATON, Mariana, Ralf	Timisoara
GREIF, Petru, Magdalena, Petru, Elfriede, Armin, Arnold.	Giarmata
GRIESS, Mariana, Ignatz.	Giarmata
GROSS, Peter, Magdalena.	Giarmata
GUNI, Andreas, Ilse, Adolf, Andreas	Tirnaveni
GUSAN, Ion, Zitta, Carol, Elena.	Giarmata
HARRAR, Manfred, Elvine, Magdalena.	Tomnatic
HEIDENFELDER, Michael, Ecaterina, Egmont, Brigitte.	Timisoara
HENNING, Gerlinde, Wilhelm.	Medias
HERMANN, Petru, Elisabeta.	Benecul de Sus
HERMANN, Petru Jr., Marianna, Andrea.	Timisoara
HERZ, Petru, Magdalena.	Giarmata
HIRTH, Walter, Ana, Heribert, Heike.	Timisoara
HOCHST, Margareta, Matei.	Com. Sacalaz
HOLZ, Hertha, Peter.	Timisoara
HUBER, Elisabeta, Hans, Horst.	Ion Slavici
HUBERT, Anna, Eugen.	Suceava
HUGEL, Mihail Margareta, Alfred.	Giarmata
HUGEL, Elisabetha.	Giarmata
HUMMEL, Ioan, Hedwiga.	Jud. Timis

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
JERCHER, Leonhard, Margareta.	Timisoara
JOST, Erna, Walter.	Giarmata
JUST, Emil, Ella.	Timisoara
KAISER, Franz, Eva, Matei.	Giarmata
KARL, Rosemarie.	Arad
KARSAI, Zoltan.	Cluj
KASNEL, Marianne, Katarina (Schneider), Annemarie (Warres), Johann (Warres).	Giarmata
KASNEL, Johan, Elisabeth, Josef.	Giarmata
KASSA, Herbert, Maria, Brunhilde, Siegfried, Helga.	Timisoara
KASZNEL, Eva, Josif.	Giarmata
KELETI, Anton, Sidonia, Herman, Anton Erich, Franz Friedrich, Hedwig, Aris Sebastian, Eduard.	Chizatau
KELTER, Ana, Ion, Christa.	Giarmata
KERN, Laurentius, Katherina, Ioan (Schmidt).	Giarmata
KILCHER, Johann, Eva, Fredy.	Jud. Timis
KILIAN, Mateiu, Varvara, Norbert.	Jud. Timis
KILZER, Erna, Mathias.	Jud. Timis
KIRTZ, Franz, Waltraud.	Timisoara
KLEER, Antonia, Ecaterina, Gerlinde.	Lovrin
KLEMENS, Walter, Annemaria, Harald, Heine.	Timisoara
KLEMENS, Herbert, Elisabeth, Elisabeth.	Jud. Timis
KLEIN, Elisabeth, Mihai, Robert, Rodica.	Jud. Timis

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
KLEITSCH, Peter, Elisabeth, Robi, Kathalin, Melinda, Maria Elisabetha (Harrar).	Tomnatic
KONIG, Matei, Anna.	Pischia
KRACHTUS, Josef, Christine.	Teremia
KRAMCZYNSKI, Adeltraub, Katharina, Peter, Renate, Detlef.	Giamatra
KRAMER, Ecaterina, Petru, Maria, Adriana, Christian.	Giarmata
KRAUS, Erich-Johann, Mathilde, Elke, Hans Erich.	Jud. Sibiu
KREISS, Katharina, Nicolae.	Biled
KRENCZLEIN, Helena	Masloc
KRUG, Josef, Rosalia.	Janova
KUMAUS, Petru, Ecaterina.	Giamatra
KUMAUS, Marianne, Johann, Erwin, Hans.	Jud. Timis
KUMAUSZ, Peter, Barbara.	Giamatra
KUNZ, Anna, Ioan, Gerda, Hermine, Elizabeth (Gotz).	Pischia
LAFLEUR, Anna, Nicolae, Nicolae, Jr.	Jimbolia
LANGER, Johann, Sofia.	Jud. Brosov
LAUB, Hans, Elena, Ewald.	Jimbolia
LAUER, Ion, Elisabeta.	Gizela
LAUER, Malvine, Erwin.	Timisoara
LIKHAUB, Eva. Eva, Ignatz (Kirth).	Giarmata
LINZ, Matei, Ana.	Giarmata
LUCZAY, Ottilie, Elisabeth, Sven-Markus.	Timisoara
LUIGI, Teodorescu, Pellegrino.	Bucharest
LUPOIAN, Adela, Mircea, Mihai Radu	Timisoara
LUSTIG, Georg, Marta, Gertrude.	

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
LUX, Nicolae, Susana, Anna, Barbara.	Giarmata
MARX, Anna, Ecaterina.	Peciul Nou
MAURER, Erica, Franz, Oswald, Arlette.	Pischia
MAUS, Elisabeta.	Tomnatic
MAYER, Barbara, Nikolaus, Ferdinand, Helmut, Ilse.	Jimbolia
MAYER, Ecaterina, Peter, Magdalena.	Giarmata
MELMER, Hannelore, Nikolaus, Richard, Karin.	Timisoara
MICHELS, Francise Nicolae, Anna Teresia.	Giarmata
MOLITOR, Jakob, Michai, Matei, Ioan, Hedwiga.	Comuna Sacalaz
MUHLBACK, Walter, Erika, Robert, Monika.	Jimbolia
MULLER, Christof, Magdalena.	Giarmata
NEIDENBACH, Hildegard, Johann, Horst Hans, Brigitte.	Jimbolia
NIESS, Johann, Magdalena, Anna.	Arad
NIKLAS, Anneliese.	Peciul Nou
NIKLAS, Norbert, Elisabeth, Regine, Martina.	Peciul Nou
NIX, Johann, Katharina, Elisabeth, Christiane, Ulrike, Giarmata.	Giarmata
NOLL, Margareta, Anton, Dietmar, Christine, Elisabeta.	Tomnatic
NOVAK, Ioan, Barbara, Norbert, Sepp, Rosalia.	Arad
NOVER, Adam, Elisabetha, Horst, Denis, Agathe.	
ONGHERTH, Johann, Else Renate, Luise Waltraut, Elfriede Ilse, Heide Lore, Edouard Hans.	Siebenburgen
ORTINAU, Ioan, Mariana, Ingrid, Hans, Eva (Jost)	Sacalaz

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
ORTH, Anna, Georg.	Giarmata
PALIMARIU, Angela, Viorel, Robert, Claudia.	
PELGER, Susanne.	Sura-Mica
PETRI, Georg, Margareta.	Giarmata
PFLANZER, Josef, Barbar.	Grancieri
PIERRE, Nicolae, Franziska, Elisabeta (Kelsch).	
POLEN, Emma Helena, Jacob. Melitta, Herbert (Krachtus).	Tomnatic
PRINZ, Ioan, Ecaterina, Gerhard, Melitta, Patrick.	Masloc
PROBST, Peter, Rosemarie, Nicolae (Lego) Ana (Lego), Annemarie (Lego), Gertrude (Loser), Ana (Engel).	Giarmata
RADU, Simion, Didi, Catalin, Cathlin.	Bucharest
REDL, Hildegard, Horst, Heidelinde Jasmine.	Iecea Mare
REGENT, Josef, Anna.	Giarmata
REISZ, Cristof, Mariana.	Giarmata
REMMEL, Anton, Eva, Barbara.	Simpetru-Mic
RENNON, Francisc, Ecaterina, Nicolae, Monica, Elke, Edeltraud.	Tomnatic
REITER, Anna, Karl, Erike, Margareta.	Iecea Mare
RENOTH, Eva, Franz, Monika, Franz.	Giarmata
ROSENAUER, Barbara, Ioan, Christina Karin, Barbara Hummerl.	Stelelor
ROSNER, Erna, Josef, Manfred, Lothar.	Peciul Nou
ROTH, Heidrun, Erich.	Giarmata
ROTH, Maria, Jakob, Annemarie.	Sanandrei
RUCKERT, SUsanna, Josef, Maria, Helmut.	Giarmata
RUMESZ, Andreas, Elisabeth, Roland.	Recas

EMIGRRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
SCHAWILJE, Hans, Erna.	Giarmata
SCHELL, Peter, Victoria.	Sannicolaul Mare
SCHEMMEL, Petra, Manfred.	
SCHILLER, Margarete, Rheinhold, Wolfgand, Henriette.	
SCHIROKMANN, Anna.	Vizejdia
SCHLAUCH, Nikolae, Anna, Peter, Beate.	
SCHMIDT, Anton, Wilhelmine, Erich Roland	Timisoara
SCHMIDT, Elisabetha.	Benecul
SCHMIDT, Erna, Francisc, Cristine.	Giarmata
SCHMIDT, Johann, Barbara.	Jimbolia
SCHMIDT, Josif, Ecaterina.	Timisoara
SCHMIDT, Martin, Valeria, Ernst.	Jimbolia
SCHMIDT, Susana, Anton	Giarmata
SCHMIDTZ, Ioan, Eva.	Simpetru Mic
SCHNEIDER, Adam, Matei, Ecaterina.	Giarmata
SCHNEIDER, Francisc, Charlotta, Edith.	Timisoara
SCHNEIDER, Pavel, Barbara.	Giarmata
SCHONTHAL, Elisabeta, Johann, Ewald.	Giarmata
SCHUBKEGEL, Andreas, Katharina, Andreas, Maria, Adelheid.	Semlac
SCHUCH, Jakob, Maria.	Simpetru Mare
SCHUH, Marian.	Com. Secusigiu
SCHUMMER, Gerlinde, Nicolae, Dieter Klaus, Iolanda (Hepp).	Zaharina
SCHUMMER, Matei, Rosina, Josef, Margareta.	Timisoara
SCHWEITZER, Werner, Annemarie, Erich.	Peciul Nou
SCHWENDER, Anna, Wilhelm.	Giarmata

EMIGRATION APPLICATION	RESIDENCE
SCHWIGERATH, Nicolae, Eva.	Ionel
SEEGER, Ion, Ecaterina, Horst.	Peciul Nou
SEHLER, Mihai, Susana.	Giarmata
SEIBERT, Renate,	Strada Islaz
SONN, Steffen, Susanna.	Peciul Nou
STEINER, Franz, Elisabeta, Rita, Monika.	Arad
SOREG, Josef, Anna-Katherina.	Ionel
SPECK, Elisabeth.	Giarmata
SPITZ, Franz, Elisabetha, Melitta, Jutta.	Jimbolia
STAMP, Ilse, Gerhard.	Sibiu
STRAUB, Josef, Margaret, Roland, Anita.	Oradea
STREITMATTER, Carol, Czeiger, Lugoj.	Lugoy
STRICKER, Anna, Michael, Erika, Richard.	Giarmata
STROMER, Anna, Josef, Anna Seeler.	Peciul Nou
STUHL, Elisabeth, Petru, Helga, Gerlinde.	Peciul Nou
STUTZER, Nicolae, Katherina.	Moravita
SUICA, Gertrude, Stefan, Daniel, Anita.	Timisoara-Freidorf.
SZEIF, Erika, Johann, Brunhard.	Janova
SZATRON, Marliese, Josef, Gunther, Reinhold.	Timisoara
SZTARON, Charlotte, Stefan, Harald.	Timisoara
TANASE, Anca.	Bucharest
TELEKI, Mihaly.	Mures
THERNES, Elisabeta, Anton.	Giarmata
TILL, Ana.	Giarmata
TILL, Katherine, Ion, Arnold, Bruno.	Giarmata

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
TJOSCHITZ, Anna, Franz, Peter.	Giarmata
TOROK, Vasile, Maria, Maria.	Aleea Carpati
TRENDLER, Michael, Maria, Johann, Charlotte, Thomas, Maria, Ignatz, Margaretha, Anna Schwarz.	Timisoara
UMSTATTER, Georg, Horst, Elena, Benhard, Hudugar.	Peciul Nou
VASCAN, Vladimir, Etel.	Masloc
VIGH, Maria, Alexander, Paul.	Timisoara
WAGNER, Maria, Willhelm, Gabriel.	Giarmata
WEBER, Michael, Elisabeta, Josef, Irina.	Giarmata
WEBER. Elisabeth, Nicolae, Erika, Reinhold.	Sinnicolaul Mare
WEGENDT, Georg	
WEILAND, Sebastian, Anna.	Giarmata
WEISMANDL, Nicolae, Ana.	Comuna Tomnatic
WEISZ, Robert, Susana, Ralph.	Timisoara
WEISZ, Pavel, Christina, Franisc, Elisabeta, Eduard, Anita.	Voiteni
WETZER, Andreas, Katharina.	Sineptru Mare
WIESSENS, Francisc, Francisca, Anna (Csaftary).	Nitchidorf
WILD, Nicolae, Ekaterina, Gertrude (Schuch), Francisc (Schuch), Hannelore (Schuch), Frank (Schuch).	Masloc
WILHELM, Elisabeth, Johann, Werner, Waltraud, Mathias, Margareta.	Biled
WILLING, Ekaterina.	Jimbolia
WILLING, Johann, Franziska, Ioan.	Jimbolia
WILWERTH, Walter, Johann, Theresia.	Satul-Prumuseni
WINDRICH, Petru, Hannelore, Ionna, Oswald, Robert.	Giarmata

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	RESIDENCE
WINKLER, Magdalena.	Giarmata
WOJTEK, Josif, Anna, Arthur, Ralf.	Giarmata
WOLF, Manfred, Elfriede, Michael, Monika.	Judetal Timis
WOLF, Johann, Margareta.	Sanpetru-Mic
ZAPPE, Margareta, Mathias, Peter.	Jimbolia
ZERWES, Magdalena, Walter Franz, Susanna, Christine, Hermine, Walter.	Giarmata
ZIMMER, Gertraud.	Timisoara
ZIMMERMAN, Iosif, Margareta.	Giarmata
ZIMMERMANN, Hermann, Anna, Norbert.	Timisoara
ZIPPEL, Karl, Anna, Alfred, Melitta.	Timisoara
ZIPPEL, Karl, Susanna.	Sanandrei
ZOLTON, Karsai.	Cluj

APPENDIX IV

PRIORITY APPEALS IN 1984:

THE ELDERLY AND INFIRM

EMIGRATION APPLICANT	YEAR OF BIRTH	RESIDENCE
BACKER,		
Franz Josef	1903	Jimbolia
Elisabeth	1924	
BECKER		
Johann	1913	Peciul Nou
Ana	1921	
BINDER		
Andreas	1916	Jud. Brasov
Anna	1921	
BODENDORFER		
Mihai	1918	Masloc
Ecaterina	1922	
EBERLE		
Josef	1903	Jud. Timis
Anna	1909	
FRANK		
Nicolae	1917	Giarmata
Margareta	1919	
FROMBACH		
Gheorghe	1905	Giarmata
Gertrude	1910	
GAL		
Margarete	1910	Giarmata
HELLSTERN		
Mihai	1919	Carnai
Barbara	1924	
JOST		
Marianne	1934	Giarmata
KAHLES		
Anna	1914	Lunga
Michael	1908	
KLECKER		
Eva	1900	Timisoara
Ana Lung (daughter)	1926	
LESSL		
Varvara	1928	Cheglevici
Ioan	1927	
Petru	1899	

MICHELBACK		
Theresia	1911	Deta
MUTSCH		
Peter	1894	Giarmata
Johana	1902	
OBERTEN		
Nikolaus	1917	Tomnatec
PICKLOR		
Margareta	1910	Timisoara
Ioan	1910	
PROCKER		
Petru	1895	Giarmata
SCHAFFER		
Ioan	1912	Giarmata
Ana	1915	
SCHMIDT		
Ignatz	1903	Giarmata
Katherina	1907	
SCHMIDT		
Mathias	1910	Giarmata
Ekaterina	1917	
SCHNEIDER		
Sebastian	1907	Giarmata
Anna	1906	
SCHWEININGER		
Peter	1909	Lovrin
Ecaterina	1912	
TOMANSKY		
Nikolaus	1916	Giarmata
Johana	1919	
TELEKI		
Mihail	1908	Mures
TYOSITS		
Katherina	1912	Giarmata
WEISS		
Fulop	1905	Couaci
Margareta	1909	

DOCUMENTATION TO J. BIRNBUAM'S TESTIMONY, AUGUST 8, 1984

1. Effect of the Chadha Decision on Congressional legislative veto relating to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.
2. Letters from 190 members of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus to Romanian President Ceausescu and President Reagan.
3. Renewed Anti-Semitism in Romanian media.
4. Romanian emigration difficulties.
5. Persecution of Rpmanian Christians.
6. Humanitarial Parole : Letters from Helsinki Commission, Senate Judiciary Committee and Foreign Relations Committee to Hon. George Shultz and Hon. Alan Nelson, Commisioner,INS.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1983

(8)

CHADHA RULING

In Spite of the Court, the Legislative Veto Lives On

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20 — The legislative veto is alive and well, contrary to a Supreme Court decision and a raft of obituaries.

It continues to thrive in a number of laws recently passed by Congress and signed by President Reagan. The laws may be legally questionable, experts say, but the fact is that the two branches of Government have found agreement on the need for such statutes in certain instances.

"It's like the Queen Mary," said Stanley M. Brand, former counsel to the clerk of the House of Representatives. "You can't turn it around that quickly."

A legislative veto is a 50-year-old device that allows one or both houses of Congress, or even a committee, to block an action of the President or an administrative agency. The veto was held unconstitutional last June when the Supreme Court ruled that it constituted an unwarranted Congressional intrusion into the powers of the executive branch.

Justice Powell's Comment

There were 120 vetoes on the books at the time. Associate Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. said that the decision, I.N.S. v. Chadha, "apparently will invalidate every use of the legislative veto" and that "the breadth of this holding gives one pause."

Since the Supreme Court decision, several laws containing legislative vetoes have been enacted, including the following:

¶The appropriations bill for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and independent agencies gained final Congressional approval six days after the decision, on June 23, and was signed into law on July 12.

It held, among other things, that construction grants by the Environmental Protection Agency were subject to prior committee approval; that the National Aeronautical and Space Administration needed committee approval before authorizing the leasing or construction of facilities, and that the Federal Home Loan Bank Board needed committee approval before transferring earmarked expenses.

¶The supplemental appropriations bill, signed on July 30, provided that committee approval was required before certain funds could be paid by the Army Corps of Engineers or before the Interior Department could terminate certain programs.

¶The Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act, signed on Aug. 5, provided that the President could suspend duty-free treatment and proclaim a special duty rate for Caribbean nations, subject to a Congressional veto.

¶The appropriations bill for the Transportation Department, signed Aug. 15, provided that expenditure of funds for Washington's Union Station needed prior Congressional approval, as did certain actions of the Federal Aviation Administration.

¶A stopgap spending bill approved last October provided that committee approval was required before the Administration could transfer foreign assistance funds from one category to another. Without such a provision, the Administration would be required to obtain full Congressional approval for such a transfer.

Drawings by Tom Bloom

> 'It's like the Queen Mary. You can't turn it around that quickly.'
>
> —*Stanley M. Brand, former House aide*

Before the Supreme Court decision, legislative vetoes were often opposed by the White House. Those enacted since have been the result of compromises, usually involving how various sums of money are to be spent.

Presidential Disclaimers

Administration officials say the President signed many of the new bills with disclaimers concerning legislative vetoes. Should there ever be a showdown with a committee, they say, the Administration would not feel bound by the legislative veto provisions. However, the officials concede that because Administration agencies will have to return to Congressional committees to seek funds in future years, the agencies have generally been respectful of committee opinions, whether or not they have the force of law.

The Reagan Administration has no intention of testing such legislation so long as the compromises hold up, according to Administration officials. Private citizens and organizations may react differently, however.

Last week, arguments were heard in Federal District Court here in a case involving a legislative veto invoked last August by the House Interior Committee. The committee approved a resolution that sought to block the Interior Department from signing a coal-leasing agreement for Federal lands in Montana and North Dakota. Last October, the President signed a stopgap spending bill that incorporated the resolution.

'Are They Constitutional?'

The lawsuit was brought by the National Wildlife Federation and the Wilderness Society, which want to stop the lease sale.

"It may come as a surprise to some observers in town that Congress has continued to enact legislative vetoes after the Chadha decision," said Louis Fisher, a specialist in the government division of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, who has written extensively about the legislative veto.

"Are they unconstitutional?" Mr. Fisher asked rhetorically of the post-Chadha legislative vetoes. "By the court's definition they are. Will this change the behavior between committees and agencies? Probably not."

Mr. Fisher predicts that the agencies will, in effect, tell Congress, "As you know, this law is unconstitutional." Then, after everyone agrees they will all abide by the new law.

"It makes sense for both branches," Mr. Fisher added. "It's a web of understandings and relationships that goes back decades. The legislative veto gives the President a fast track. Without access to the legislative veto, why should members of Congress want to grant a fast-track process to the President?"

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1983

Jackson-Vanik: it has worked well

By William Korey

Perhaps one of the finest accomplishments of the late Sen. Henry M. Jackson is the so-called Jackson-Vanik amendment. Critics argue that the amendment has worked against long-range US-Soviet accord.

The fact is Jackson-Vanik has worked to the benefit of all mankind by underscoring the right of persons to leave a nation.

Let's consider Jackson-Vanik for a moment.

On Sept. 14, 1973, the distinguished Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov sent a remarkable "open letter" to Congress urging adoption of the Jackson-Vanik legislation linking trade benefits for the USSR to ease Soviet emigration procedures.

Current critics of Jackson-Vanik, drawing upon arguments advanced by former President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, perceive the ammendment as having been counterproductive by actually reducing emigration. They cite statistics showing that Jewish emigration jumped from several hundred in 1968 to 35,000 in 1973. The escalation was seen as due to Nixon's "quiet diplomacy," while the decline after 1973 was viewed as due to Jackson-Vanik's open pressure.

But the evidence is overwhelming that Jackson-Vanik made possible the emigration of large numbers of educated Jews and in no way was responsible for lower emigration figures.

The vagaries of Soviet emigration policy cannot be seen as directly or even indirectly related to the congressional amendment.

- The USSR in March 1973, keenly aware of the yet-to-be-enacted Jackson-Vanik amendment — it was approved by both houses on Dec. 20, 1974 — revoked an incredible 1972 edict that had imposed exorbitant taxes upon Jews with a higher education seeking to emigrate. The amendment would refuse most-favored-nation tariff treatment and subsidized credits to communist governments that extracted more than a "nominal" tax on exit visas. Some 1450 Jews had to pay approximately $7 million during that eight-month period. How many were kept from applying because of the high tax is not known. What is known is that tens of thousands who emigrated after March 1973 were not hindered or stopped because they could not afford to pay the ransom tax.
- Similarly, Romania this past June revoked a decree requiring huge taxes from would-be emigrants who had acquired higher education. Jackson-Vanik provisions were clearly responsible. Jewish emigration from Romania rose by 50 percent last year.
- Soviet Jewish emigration began dropping in early 1974. But this took place almost a full year before the amendment was voted upon by Congress.
- Dr. Kissinger, in testimony before the Senate Finance Committee on Dec. 3, 1974, clearly indicated that the Soviets were prepared to acquiesce with the requirements of Jackson-Vanik. If they later repudiated such assurances, it was probably due to a totally different amendment to a different bill — the Stevenson amendment — which put a severely restrictive ceiling on credits to the USSR, thereby negating the Soviet-American understanding on emigration.
- Between 1976 and 1979, while Jackson-Vanik was in force, Soviet Jewish emigration rose annually, reaching an unprecedented 51,000 people in 1979.
- Hungary was granted most-favored-nation tariff treatment under the provisions of Jackson-Vanik in 1978. It is inconceivable that the USSR would have permitted Hungary to accept this arrangement if the Kremlin had firmly opposed the amendment.

Jackson-Vanik was the first piece of American legislation that was inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights — specifically Article XIII, the right of everyone to leave any country. Particularly appropriate for a "nation of immigrants," Sakharov also considered it essential for establishing the "mutual trust" needed for détente.

For Sakharov, Jackson-Vanik constituted a "policy of principle" which, if rejected, would signify "a betrayal of the thousands of Jews and non-Jews who want to emigrate, of the hundreds in camps and mental hospitals, of the victims of the Berlin Wall." His "open letter" to the Congress a decade ago is as valid now as it was then.

William Korey is director of international policy research for B'nai B'rith International.

Congress of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20515

May 14, 1984

President Nicolae Ceausescu
President of Romania
Bucharest
Romania

Dear Mr. President:

We represent the group of 190 members of the House of Representatives of the United States Conress who recently formed the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. We have noted with approval and interest the increasing number of US-Romanian contacts on human rights matters, and in some areas differences between us have lessened as a result of slightly improved emigration conditions.

Nevertheless, we feel obliged to voice our distress over the many serious violations of the Helsinki Final Act still occuring within your borders. Many would-be emigrants are subject to considerable sufferring and long delays in family reunification in the US, West Germany, Israel and elsewhere.

In 1983 there was a substantial decline in Jewish immigration compared to 1982; however, 1984 has seen an outflow of over 200 in January and March. It is important that this monthly rate continue in the future until the emigration requirements of Romanian Jewry are solved.

Another issue that deeply disturbs us is the number of anti-Semitic articles in Romanian literary and popular press during the past year, such as the long insiduous article in the widely distributed Scienteia Tineretului, on April 24th, 1983, the highly defamatory poems by Corneliu Vadim Tudor in Septamana, of July 29, 1983, and in a new book published in December 1983 attacking the Jews in general and chief Rabbi Moses Rosen in particular.

We are deeply disturbed by the direct and calculated persecution of fundamentalist Christians, who desire the freedom to worship according to their beliefs outside of the state-sponsored churches. We are also concerned about other problems confronting religious groups. According to the State Department's latest Country Report on Human Rights Practices: "(Romanian) Government mistreatment of nonconformist members of recognized religions is exceeded only by that directed at members of nonrecognized faiths. Such demominations in Romania include the Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, Christian Scientists, and the once-large Romanian Uniate Church." Members of these religious denominations are not permitted by law to attend services freely or practice their religion.

Numerous reports continue to testify to the enforced erosion of Hungarian educational institutions and cultural activities, so that the substantial Hungarian minority in Romania percieves itself as threatened with cultural extinction. The recent trial of four ethnic Hungarians has heightened this feeling. We expressed concern in this regard in a letter to Secretary Shultz, a copy of which was sent to Ambassador Malitza.

We earnestly hope that with increasing bilateral contacts regarding these matters, you will find ways of allaying our serious concerns.

During this period when the U.S. President will make his determination as to the continued extension of Most Favored Nation trading status to Romania, we have of course communicated these concerns to him.

Cordially,

Tom Lantos

Tom Lantos

John Porter

Congreſs of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20515

May 14, 1984

President Ronald Reagan
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

You will shortly be making your determination on the waiver of the force of Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act in regard to Romania.

On behalf of the 190 members of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, we wish to voice our distress over the many serious human rights violations still being perpetrated by the Romanian authorities.

Despite a slight lessening of personal harrassment of would-be emigrants and some improvements in emigration procedures, great bureaucratic problems remain, causing much suffering. There are still a number of long-delay cases of family reunification in the United States, West Germany, Israel and elsewhere.

In 1983 there was a substantial decline in Jewish immigration compared to 1982; however, 1984 has seen an outflow of over 200 in January and March. It is important that this monthly rate continue in the future until the emigration requirements of Romanian Jewry are solved.

Another issue that deeply disturbs us is the number of anti-Semitic articles in Romanian literary and popular press uring the past year, such as the long insiduous article in the widely distributed Communist Youth League newspaper, Scienteia Tineretului, on April 24th, 1983, the highly defamatory poems by Corneliu Vadim Tudor in the literary magazine, Septamana, of July 29, 1983, and in a new book published in December 1983 attacking the Jews in general and chief Rabbi Moses Rosen in particular.

We are deeply disturbed by the direct and calculated persecution of fundamentalist Christians, who desire the freedom to worship according to their beliefs outside of the state-sponsored churches. We are also concerned about other problems confronting other religious groups. According to the State Department's latest Country Report of Human Rights Practices: "(Romanian) Government mistreatment of nonconformist members of recognized religions is exceeded only by that directed at members of nonrecognized faiths. Such demominations in Romania include the Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, Christian Scientists, and the once-large Romanian Uniate Church." Members of these religious denominations are not permitted by law to attend services freely or practice their religion.

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During this period of your consideration of the waiver, when your leverage with Bucharest is at its highest point, we look forward to your assurance that you will convey our deep concerns to Bucharest in no less firm a manner than you did in 1982 and 1983.

Cordially,

Tom Lantos

John Porter

Tom Lantos

ANTI-SEMITIC POEM AGAINST
ROMANIAN CHIEF RABBI MOSES
ROSEN

To a slanderer from outside the Country

Doleful gambler, you monument of hatred
    satyr draped in cherry-colored shroud (1)
how dare you straighten things in our culture (2)
    you'd do better selling thread and buttons
beastly eyes, little moses
    your grin's a pest, thief, with sharpened teeth
stammering and countryless
    malefactor you are, with all your kind
greedy for everything, though all you already have
    rose'n lily in your warm den
yet the ants in your pants make you
    jump up to the crest
to crucify another sanctity
    to whom I have been praying for a century!... (3)

(From the poetry book "Saturnalii"
by Corneliu Vadim Tudor
"Albatros" Publishing House - Bucharest,1983)

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(1) Rosen wears a cherry-colored cassock during services.

(2) This is an allusion to Rosen's attempt to prevent the publication of some anti-Semitic literature.

(3) Obviously Eminescu, the great 19th century Romanian poet, whose anti-Semitic articles published in a book prompted a strong protest from Rosen.

1983

INSTANCES OF ANTISEMITISM IN ROMANIA

Item 1

The "Cartea Romaneasca" publishing house of Bucharest printed in 1983 a book of prose by the great 19th century Romanian poet Vasile Alecsandri. One story (1) involves a dialog between a farthing and a ducat. In a certain part of the story, the ducat is lamenting his bad fortune of falling into "the slavery of a Jewish Neron" and being "tormented in the torturer's hands like the Christians in the time of paganism". Moved, the farthing wonders "how could the Romanian people possibly stand so many thousands of those brigands". But there is a happy ending to this sad story: the ducat is freed when the Jew encounters two outlaws in a forest known as "the death of kikes" and "the enemy of the side curled". The ducat joyfully narrates the killing of his master:

"Hit him, the thiefs yelled and pushed Leiba from his carriage down to the ground. The Judah was struggling, desperatly shouting at the top of his voice: Vai mir, gewalt. But one of the thiefs put his knee on the man's chest and a hand in his throat and his voice broke off instantly. The scene was not long because soon the two lads returned to the forest leaving the usurer's body streched in the middle of the road, breathless and with bulged eyes".

Rejoining their gang in the forest, the two heroes are asked figuratively by their captain "if they caught the rabbit". "Was he fat?" - inquires the captain. "Rather fat, since he couldn't run too well", answers the thief. "Perhaps he was kosher", notes the captain cheerfully.

In another piece of prose included in the same book, Alecsandri describes a "wretched" section of the city of Yassi in which he finds "a few Romanian dwellings you can hardly see" in the midst of "lots of stinky inns owned by filthy Jews". He depicts "a small and wretched house in which, through the broken glass of the windows, you see a dozen kikes packed one over another and working in a stinky atmosphere". It is "a vile dwelling that inspires disgust and in which the filthy kike exploits peoples bad passions".

Item 2

A literary almanac published in Yassi in 1983 contains another dialog of a more famous writer, namely Voltaire, this time between a hen and a capon. The antisemitic flavor is more discreet here, though easily noticeable. The capon complains about his cruel castration. And he quotes some Italian monks who suffered the same ordeal as saying: "Men started by circumcising their fellow men and ended up castrating them". The capon adds that he heard of "many countries, for instance that of the Jews, where men sometimes eat each other". To which the hen replies: "It's just right for such a perverse species to devour itself so that the earth be purified of this crowd". (2)

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(1) "The story of a Farthing and a Ducat" is considered to be Alecsandri's most important work of prose. It was reprinted many times, but in the post-war editions the antisemitic slurs have been deleted.

(2) This is an extract from Voltaire's "Philosophical Dialogs and Anecdotes".

Item 3

"A Martyr's Epistle to the Traitors of the Country" is the title of a poem by the contemporary Romanian poet Corneliu Vadim Tudor published in the literary magazine "Saptamana", organ of the Committee for Culture and Socialist Education of the Bucharest Municipality, on July 29, 1983. One verse reads as follows:

> I'm not talking about the foul foreigners
> And the cavillings of other nationalities.
> Everyone will get his reward.
> It is with you, Romanians, that I quarrel.

"Foul foreigners" - in Romanian "lifte spurcate" - is an established phrase to derogatorily describe the Jews. It was used by the Iron Guard propaganda- as was Judah, which can be found in another verse of the same poem that abounds in other respects as well in Iron Guard symbols and atmospherics.

The author was the main character in a previous outburst of literary antisemitism, in 1980, when he wrote an infamous editorial in the same magazine "Saptamana", subsequently retracted publicly under pressure.

Item 4

A long article(1) of a very insidious nature published by the Communist Youth League's newspaper in April 1983, offers a new interpretation of the so-called Proletcult that was a major vehicle for the Communist Party to impose its control over Romanian culture immediatly after the war. According to this new interpretation the Proletcultist approach was not a Soviet inspired literary and artistic movement, but a Jewish "plot against the specificity of the Romanian spirit". All the names the article quotes are of well known Jewish intellectuals, whom it calls "dogmatists' "The dogmatists - the article contends - put on any cloth as long as it was foreign; marched under any banner as long as it was not ours; their stated goal, lately denied, was and is the liquidation of the historical roots of the autochthonous culture. How could one otherwise explain the fact that they are the ones to oppose the republication of the works of Mihai Eminescu, N. Iorga, Vasile Parvan, C. Calinescu and others? They are even ready to throw themselves in front of the train engine only to prevent Romanian writings from being published". This refers to the efforts of some Jewish circles to stop the publication of viciously antisemiti works of some clasics.

The article was harshly criticised as antisemitic and fascist by Radio Free Europe. In a response published a month later in the same newspaper, the author denied any antisemitic inclination, but added a few more names of Jewish intellectua to the list of culprits and several more points to the indictment.

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(1) "Guidelines for a Dialectical, Antidogmatic Approach to Literature and the Arts' by Mihai Pelin. Literary supplement of "Scanteia Tineretului", April 24, 1983.

APRIL 6, 1984

Anti-Semitic upsurge alarms Jewish community in Romania

By JOSEPH FINKLESTONE

Fear is gripping the Romanian Jewish community following appearance of several virulently anti-Semitic articles in Romanian papers and the publication of a book of poems slandering the chief rabbi, Rabbi Moses Rosen.

Romanian Jews believe that a group of neo-fascists has managed to regain influential posts within the administration and is deliberately stirring up anti-Jewish prejudices.

The anti-Jewish campaign is on a more extensive scale than the one three years ago, which led to an apology being printed in a communist newspaper for a particularly obnoxious article.

Allegations are made in the latest newspaper articles that the Jewish community, which now numbers only 29,000, is more interested in "selling whiskey" than in culture.

It is thought that an attempt is being made to use the Jews as scapegoats for the economic plight of the country.

Surprise has been expressed by the ability of one leading anti-Jewish writer to have two books published within a year. In Romania, authors are normally limited to one book a year.

The anti-Semitic author, Corneliu Valerian Tudor, describes in a book of nationalistic poems Chief Rabbi Rosen in the most insulting terms. After protests, the woman responsible for editing the book was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, but the writer went free.

Such terms as "murderers of Jesus" and "thieves" have been applied to Jews. Rosen has been accused of slandering Romania.

A protest meeting at the Choral Synagogue in Bucharest was attended by 1,500 Jews, and calls were made to silence the fascist anti-Semites. Permission was not given by the authorities to have the resolutions printed in the communal newspaper. They have, however, been circulated, and have evoked many messages of support from the country's intellectuals.

Rosen, who has been visiting Switzerland together with the 40-member Iasy Choir, confirmed the anti-Jewish outbreaks and said that the country's remaining Jews were deeply alarmed. Some even feared being expelled.

He intended to appeal to President Nicolae Ceausescu and was sure that the president would once again take action against the anti-Semitic slanderers.

"We will not remain silent," said Rosen. "Aliyah to Israel is continuing, and the economic situation of the Jews has not deteriorated, but we cannot allow people to insult us.

Jewish Chronicle News Service

U.S. CONCERNED ABOUT ROMANIAN ANTI-SEMITISM --

ROMBERG TOLD QUESTIONERS THAT THE UNITED STATES "WOULD REGARD ANY RECURRENCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN ROMANIA VERY SERIOUSLY" AND THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS EXPRESSED ITS "CONCERN TO THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT AT HIGH LEVELS."

HE SAID THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IS AWARE OF THE REPORTS OF INCREASED ANTI-SEMITISM IN ROMANIA AND IS "ACTIVELY INVESTIGATING THEM."

THESE REPORTS, HE SAID, CENTER ON A BOOK OF POEMS PUBLISHED RECENTLY IN ROMANIA, ESPECIALLY ONE POEM WHICH ATTACKED CHIEF RABBI MOSES ROSEN PERSONALLY, AND JEWS IN GENERAL.

"THE FACT THAT SUCH A POEM WAS PUBLISHED IN ROMANIA, A COUNTRY IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLS THE MEDIA, IS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN," ROMBERG SAID. "WE HAVE UNCONFIRMED REPORTS THAT THE UNSOLD COPIES OF THE BOOK HAVE BEEN RECALLED, AND THAT OFFICIALS OF THE PUBLISHING HOUSE WHICH PUBLISHED THE BOOK HAVE BEEN REPRIMANDED."

NNNN

MAARIV, ISRAEL - June 26, 84

re PODLEANU + BULGARU FAMILIES SEEKING TO LEAVE ROMANIA FOR ISRAEL

☐ בעליהן של שתי אחיות נדרשו להתפטר כדי שיוכלו להגיש את בקשת העליה מרומניה – ובינתיים התקיימו על קיצבה של האם

☐ לאחר שבקשתם נדחתה אומרת אחת האחיות: „לא יהיה לנו מה לאכול אם אמא תעזוב את רומניה ותעלה בלעדינו"

אולגה פודולנו (מימין) ושתי בנותיה סטיאנה דמאקה ודורינה בולגרו, כפי שצולמו לפני שנים ברומניה. התמונה שמורה אצל אחיה של סטיאנה, יוני, בראשון־לציון

הרומנים התירו לאם לעלות ודחו את בקשת שתי בנותיה

■ אינגה דויטשקרון

„לא יהיה לנו מה לאכול ולא יהיה היכן לגור — אם אמא תעזוב את רומניה ותעלה לישראל בלעדינו" — בקריאות יאוש זו תיארה סטיאנה דמאקה — פודולנו, בשיחת טלפון מבוקרשט, את מצבה ואת מצב אחותה דורינה, באוזני אחיה יוני, המתגורר בראשון לציון.

רק אולגה פודולנו, אמם של סטיאנה, דורינה ויוני, זכתה לקבל אשרת יציאה מרומניה. יוני, שהגיע לישראל לפני חמש שנים מתכוון לפתוח בשביתת רעב לפני משרדי שגרירות רומניה בישראל, חרף היותו חולה במחלת [illegible], כדי לאלץ את [illegible] השלטונות הרומניים [illegible] לישראל גם לאחיותיו ולמשפחותיהן.

שתי המשפחות — דמאקה (משפחתה של סטיאנה) ובולגארו (משפחתה של דורינה), ביחד עם האם אולגה פודולנו, פנו בבקשה לקבל היתר יציאה לישראל [illegible] בנובמבר 1983.

בתחילת ינואר 1984 הודיעו השלטונות הרומניים לבעליהן של האחיות, שנסטנטין בולגארו ואלכסנדרו דמאקה, כי יהיה עליהם תחילה להתפטר ממשרותיהם כמומחים למחשבים כדי שלא תתעורר בעיה של גישה לסודות מדינה.

שניהם התפטרו תוך המתנה לאשרות היציאה. בני המשפחות חיו על קיצבת הגימלאות של אולגה פודולנו, בת שבעים, אשר היתה מנהלת המשרד לענינים סוציאליים בממשלת רומניה. גם אבי המשפחה המנוח שימש בשנים 1948—1950 כסגן שר החינוך והתרבות בממשלת רומניה. שם המשפחה המקורי שלו היה פודולבסקי והוא שינה אותו אחרי המלחמה לפודולנו, כדי שיישמע „יותר רומני".

לפני כמה שבועות פנו בני המשפחה אל השלטונות בבקשה לדעת מה עלה בבקשתם — ואז נאמר להם כי בשל העבר של המשפחה, כלומר — משרותיו של אבי המשפחה ותפקידיו בפוליטיקה הרומנית — יהא עליהם לבקש אשרות יציאה מיוחדות מן הרשויות הפוליטיות המוסמכות לכך.

אחרי תקופת המתנה נוספת, נאמר לבני המשפחה, כי אשרות היציאה יישלחו לביתן.

לפני כחודש הגיעה סוף סוף אשרת היציאה המבוקשת: לביתה של האם אולגה פודולנו. שתי המשפחות של בנותיה סטיאנה ודורינה קיבלו הודעות כי בקשתן נדחתה.

תוקפה של אשרת היציאה לאם המשפחה הוא חמישה חודשים בלבד. אם היא תיאלץ לעזוב בתוך תקופה זו את רומניה, תישארנה משפחות שתי בנותיה ללא הכנסה וללא אמצעי קיום, מפני שהבעלים [illegible] ממשרותיהם, וסיכוייהם להשיג עבודה קלושים. ייתכן אף שהבית בו מתגוררות שתי המשפחות כיום יילקח מהן, מפני שהוא רשום על שם האם.

בוריס גולקו. השחמטאי היהודי מבריה"מ בפניה נרגשת לשחמטאים בעולם:

Maariv 6/26/

„מנהלים נגדי מסע אכזרי בשל רצוני לעלות"

■ שאול הון

„השחמטאי היהודי מבריה"מ [illegible] יהודים, בוריס גולקו, בן 37, פנה [illegible] בעולם, [illegible] לו [illegible], כדי שיתירו לו ולאשתו [illegible] של שלטונות בריה"מ לעלות לישראל.

גולקו היה אלוף השחמט של בריה"מ ב־1977. אשתו, אנה, היתה אלופת השחמט של נשי בריה"מ ב־[illegible]. אולם כאשר שניהם נרשמו לעליה לישראל, הטילו עליהם שלטונות בריה"מ חרם [illegible]. לגולקו לא הותר לצאת להתחרויות בחו"ל, מחשש פן יערוק.

ב־1983 ערך גולקו שביתת רעב במשך 40 יום, במאמציו לאלץ את שלטונות בריה"מ להתיר לו לעלות — אך לשווא. [illegible] לקראת התחרות [illegible] בין בריה"מ לנבחרת שאר העולם, [illegible] גולקו [illegible], כי שלטונות בריה"מ מנהלים נגדו מסע [illegible], בשל רצונו לעלות לישראל.

CAPTIVE WORLD Nov. 11, '80 New York Tribune

Romania harsh with Christian activists

By Hubert Huber
NEW YORK TRIBUNE FOREIGN STAFF

VIENNA — Romania, widely considered to be a liberal nation compared with other East bloc states, is as harsh in its treatment of active Christians as any other country in the communist bloc.

On Aug. 10, four members of the Baptist Church met in the cities of Timisoara and Caransebes to distribute leaflets and display posters calling on the government to respect the rights of Christians in Romania and to release the Romanian Orthodox priest, Father George Calciu.

Soon after commencing their protest, the four Christians were taken to the police station, interrogated and, after 5 days, were sentenced to 4 months in prison for alleged anarchistic activities.

After filing an appeal against the court decision, their sentences were extended to 6 months.

Calciu, for whom they had demonstrated, had been a teacher of French and New Testament studies at the University of Bucharest. He is serving a 10-year sentence for supporting persecuted Christians.

The priest is reported to be enduring extreme suffering under inhumane prison conditions and is said to weigh no more than 40 kilos — about 90 pounds.

Actions of the government against Christians of every denomination are manifold and range from simple harassment to severe persecution with long prison terms and physical abuse.

In Mercina, a small town in the district of Catas Severin, the authorities shut off the electricity to the local Baptist church. The officials claimed that their actions were justified by the general energy shortage.

In the town of Medias, Baptists, Adventists and Evangelical Christians have had their churches burglarized. Most of the liturgical requisites were stolen and the church doors were broken from the inside.

In another incident, the Catholic cemetery in the Romanian capital, Bucharest, was defiled by unknown vandals.

Because of the systematic thoroughness with which these violations have been executed, the affected Christians suspect the state secret police of planning and initiating the disruptions.

Because of the systematic thoroughness with which these violations have been executed, the affected Christians suspect the state secret police of planning and initiating the disruptions.

Besides these raids on their buildings and facilities, Christians live with constant discrimination from childhood to death.

Children of believers have hardly any chance of gaining higher education. They often are mocked by their teachers, even in elementary school.

Shortly before Christmas last year, Cornelia Ologenau, a teacher in Tiganesti in the district of Teleorman, lost her job because her pupils were considered to believe too much in God.

"Faith in God is not permitted, according to the constitution," the school authorities argued to justify their action against Ologenau.

Attendance at Christian seminaries is subjected to such rigorous control by the government that hardly anyone is studing to become a priest now. The Catholic theological seminary in Sibiu in Transylvania was allowed to enroll only two novices this year, although in Transylvania there are more than 30 parishes without priests to care for the community.

Government restrictions on theological studies also are felt in the Protestant seminary in Cluj. The number of students has shrunk to one-fifth of the original capacity of the seminary during the last 5 years.

Any initiative on behalf of dedicated Christians to substitute for the continuous shortage of priests by supplying Bibles or religious literature, however, is severely oppressed by the communist regime.

"Faith in God is not permitted, according to the Constitution," the school authorities argued to justify their dismissal of the teacher.

Maria and Fibia Delapeta recently were accused by regional newspapers of "trafficking literature with religious, fascist contents." In a lengthy article, the newspapers claimed that the two sisters had traded Bibles for personal profit, spread slanderous rumors about the Romanian state and that both suffered from paranoic delusions of being subjected to religious persecution.

Both sisters belong to a Romanian Orthodox community, whose leader, Irajan Dors, has been accused of being a Western agent.

Members of other Christian denominations who supported the two sisters also were criticized by the local press for having become instruments of extremist rightwing propaganda against the socialist state of Romania.

DANTE B. FASCELL
CHAIRMAN

ROBERT DOLE
CO-CHAIRMAN

COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

R. SPENCER OLIVER
STAFF DIRECTOR

SAMUEL G. WISE
DEPUTY STAFF DIRECTOR

237 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, ANNEX 2
(202) 225-1901

July 12, 1984

8420409

The Honorable George Shultz
Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I would like to bring to your attention a matter which is the source of ongoing public concern addressed to the CSCE Commission, and which apparently places the United States at odds with its commitments under the Helsinki Final Act.

The problem involves the family reunification of a small number of elderly parents, often in poor health, with their children who have immigrated to the United States from Romania under the Third Country Processing program (TCP). These elderly parents, who do not yet qualify for admission to the United States as immigrants, have often already received their emigration papers from the Romanian authorities and are therefore being kept by the United States from joining their children. Not only is this questionable on humanitarian grounds, but it is inconsistent with our pledge in the Helsinki Final Act to "deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family, with special attention being given to requests of an urgent character -- such as requests submitted by persons who are ill or old." The irony of the situation is not lost upon the Romanians when we approach them with requests on behalf of individuals of particular interest to the United States.

I fully understand the reasons for our policy of phasing out the TCP program in Romania and for the procedures recently initiated to bring the program under better control. However, there is a mechanism -- that of humanitarian parole -- which is fully consistent with our policy and which would facilitate the resolution of this small number of pending cases. I suggest that such parole could be used in cases involving elderly parents, more often than not in poor health and in difficult living circumstances, whose only realistic source of support are children living in the United States as legal residents. As I understand from constituent mail to the CSCE Commission, a number of these cases have been submitted for consideration for humanitarian parole by the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest through the State Department to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, but for some reason have failed to receive approval.

JUL 17 REC'D

Would it therefore be possible, Mr. Secretary, to initiate discussions at the appropriate level between the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service with the goal of broadening the unwritten guidelines for humanitarian parole? This would permit the favorable resolution of the small number of cases to which I have referred and would, I believe, keep the United States in line with both the spirit and letter of our commitments under the Helsinki Final Act.

Sincerely,

Dante Fascell

DANTE B. FASCELL
Chairman

DBF/bf

Attachment: Representative List of Cases
Recently Submitted for Humanitarian
Parole

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

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LYNDA L. NERSESIAN, CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR
ALICE R. WILDER, GENERAL COUNSEL

July 27, 1984

The Honorable Alan C. Nelson
Commissioner
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Rm. 7100
425 'I' Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20536

Dear Al:

It has come to my attention that a small number of elderly Romanian citizens, many in poor health and living under extemely difficult conditions, are finding it impossible to join their legal resident children in the United States. They do not yet qualify for immigration under existing programs, and most will likely not live the several years necessary for them to become eligible. Attached is a list of such cases.

As a solution to particularly needy cases, the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest has recommended that the Immigration and Naturalizaton Service grant humanitarian parole to a small number of individuals in this category, particularly those whose only reasonable source of support are children living legally in the United States. However, these requests are being denied apparently because they do not meet the criteria currently in use by the Office of Refugees, Asylum, and Parole. The denial of parole to these individuals, in my opinion, is questionable from a humanitarian point of view, and places the United States in contravention of its pledge under Helsinki Final Act to promote family reunification, especially in cases involving elderly or ill individuals.

I would ask that the Immigration and Naturalization Service, perhaps in consultation with the State Department, reexamine the guidelines used to decide such cases. No major policy changes would be necessary, and the number of individuals I expect to qualify for parole would be limited. A slight broadening of the informal eligibility requirements to include a limited category of elderly parents would be in the best interest of the individuals involved and, I believe, of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

Chuck Grassley

Chuck Grassley
United States Senator

c.c. Doris Meisner

CEG:amm

ROMANIAN FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES
RECOMMENDED FOR
HUMANITARIAN PAROLE

	Family Member in Romania	Relative in the United States
?	Mr. and Mrs. Emanoil BIEGEL (67 and 61 years old) Nasaud, Romania and Cluj, Romania (respectively)	Gheorghe BIEGEL 84-31 62nd Dr. Apt V15 Middle Village, NY 11379
*	Mr. and Mrs. Gheorghe COJAN (72 and 71 years old) Gagesti-Vrancea, Romania	Gheorge COJAN Jr. 89-36 Springfield BLVD Queens Village, NY 11427
*	Mr. and Mrs. Alexandru GHIGHINA (74 and 72 years old) Darasti, Romania	Elena ALEXANDRU Los Angeles, California
*	Reiza KITNER (70 year old widow) Bacau, Romania	Alina MARCUS 2813 Ocean Ave., Apt 6-J Brooklyn, New York 11235
*	Mrs. Elena MICLOSESCU (83 year old widow, blind in right eye) Stanciova, Romania	Maria MANDREANU 14526 Birch Wood Cleveland, Ohio 44111
*	Ana COSTEA (80 years old, widow, has cancer) Negrilesti, Romania	Ilie COSTEA 10015 Alexandra Blvd Los Angeles, California 90706

* Denied by INS

CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL., CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 15, 1984

Mr. Jacob Birnbaum
Center for Russian and East European Jewry
240 Cabrini Blvd.
New York, New York 10033

Dear Mr. Birnbaum:

Thank you for taking time to come to Washington last week to meet with Mr. Alan Safran. As Mr. Safran has now informed you, I have appealed to the INS for more lenient treatment of applicants for humanitarian parole. Enclosed is a copy of my letter to the Commissioner of the INS. Also, we have appealed to the Romanian embassy for the Somesfalean and Bendek cases, which I know you have been working on for several years.

I hope that my interventions will be helpful, and I thank you for your own diligence and commitment to so many causes worth fighting for.

Sincerely,

Charles H. Percy
Chairman

CHP:gtm

Enclosure

CHARLES H PERCY, ILL., CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 14, 1984

Mr. Alan Nelson
Commissioner
Immigration and Naturalization Service
415 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20536

Dear Commissioner Nelson:

I understand that you now have under review certain proposals by the Department of State concerning the granting of humanitarian parole to some applicants for immigration from Romania to the United States. As you consider U.S. policy options, I want to register my own strong support for granting humanitarian parole to the small number of sick, elderly parents and young children from Romania whose applications for immigration unfortunately have been denied.

These persons do not yet qualify for immigration because their children or parents, who preceded them in coming to the United States, have not yet become full U.S. citizens. However, they face the added hardships associated with having been approved for emigration by the Romanian government. They are in a state of limbo. It embarrasses the United States to raise our concerns for emigration when it is the United States in these particular cases which is holding up the emigration process.

Therefore, I hope that you will consider the urgent nature of these cases and offer humanitarian parole on that basis to the small number of sick, elderly applicants and young children who have petitioned to join their children and parents in the United States. This would help restore our own adherence to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and would reinforce our credibility as we petition month after month for more emigration approvals by the Romanians.

Thank you for considering this proposal. I look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Charles H. Percy
Chairman

CHP:gtm

WALL ST JOURNAL, JUNE 4, 1984

Wall Street Journal

The Harsh Reality Behind Romania's Olympic Move

6/4/84

By Juliana G. Pilon

Romania's announcement that it plans to participate in this summer's Olympic Games in Los Angeles will only add to Western misconceptions about that "maverick" nation's political independence.

For example, during his European tour last year, the Romanian system drew praise for its autonomy from Moscow from no less than Vice President George Bush.

It is an autonomy of sorts. Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu continues to resist Warsaw Pact pressures to boost Romania's military budget. In December 1982, Romania voted in the U.N. to investigate charges that the Soviet Union had waged chemical warfare in Laos, Cambodia and Afghanistan; other East bloc nations joined the Soviets in opposition.

In fact, Romania's occasional unorthodoxy, while no doubt irritating to an increasingly rigid Politburo, appears to have some benefits for the Soviets. Moscow has been able to use Romania's good offices in the Third World, where its own hand might be resented, to further Soviet aims.

Romania also has never really threatened Moscow's essential interests. Unlike the internal reforms of Poland or Hungary, the Romanian model is rigidly orthodox. Many students of Romania, including Prof. Aurel Braun of the University of Toronto, have cited the rigid Stalinist nature of Romania's domestic policies as the principal reason for Moscow's tolerance for Romania's "independence." Those policies have transformed the beautiful, rich former breadbasket of Europe into a basket case. Last year, food prices alone increased 35%. The International Monetary Fund reports that the standard of living in Romania declined between 19% and 40% during 1983. Also, according to a 1979 U.N. demographic study, Romania has one of Europe's highest suicide rates (66.5 per 100,000 inhabitants), more than double the rate for East Germany.

Romania's economy is a shambles. Its foreign debt is estimated at $10 billion to $11 billion. How the loans will ever be repaid is a mystery. Mr. Ceausescu plans no reforms, no experiments with free enterprise, choosing instead economic austerity measures bordering on the bizarre.

These include attempts to cut private electricity use in half. This goal is enforced by vigilante teams that roam apartment buildings, confiscating "superfluous" appliances and plastering wall sockets shut, despite the fact that such sources account for a mere 7% of total consumption. The wasteful, inefficient national industries that account for the bulk of electricity use are left untouched.

The food situation is also perilous, exacerbated by the president's callous approach. He has chided his subjects for being too fat, warning that one-third of illness in Romania stems from overeating. On July 14, 1982, he announced a "scientific diet." Bread, milk, oil, meat and sugar are all strictly rationed. What is worse, shortages are the rule. Bread is made in very unsanitary conditions, according to Radio Free Europe, sometimes containing tinfoil and even bits of screw.

The breakdowns in services are Kafkaesque. The rarity of spare parts for cars and machinery makes even minor repairs an impossibility.

Mr. Ceausescu blames it all on "laziness" and "lack of public spirit." The remedy is to apply communist economic principles even more strictly.

But emigrants largely blame the pervasive despair in Romania upon the political situation. For besides disgust over the mandatory adulation demanded by Mr. Ceausescu (he is called "our lay god, the heart of the party and the nation") and the infamous nepotism of the Ceausescu family, there is fear. The secret police are ubiquitous, busy suppressing political dissent. In March 1983, the state required that all typewriters and calculators be registered, so their use would be denied to persons who "present a danger to the public order or state security." Even lending or leasing such machines is forbidden. While other Soviet bloc nations may monitor the possession of such items, Romania actively tries to limit their ownership by confiscating them. Since 1975, admission to a doctoral program has had to be approved by the Communist Party. A strike in 1977 by more than 35,000 workers was ruthlessly suppressed.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the urge to emigrate has reached pandemic proportions. From 1977 to 1982, 62,500 Romanians of German origin left. The officially reported Jewish community has shrunk from 400,000 in 1945 to 30,000 today. In 1982, a total of 19,000 Romanians emigrated to the West. Laments Dr. Vlad Georgescu, head of the Romanian section of Radio Free Europe in Munich: "Fleeing beyond the border, a desperate act that reaches people of all ages and professions, has now become a widespread phenomenon, unique in the history of a nation traditionally a country of immigration rather than emigration."

Ironically, it is the U.S. that has recently been trying to limit Romanians entering the U.S., claiming that the process must be rendered more orderly. This despite the fact that the main reason given for U.S. renewal of Romania's most-favored-nation trade status was to encourage "freedom of emigration." Rather, the main motive for the renewal appears to be a reluctance to admit that American attempts at *Realpolitik* in that country have failed miserably, if predictably.

Yet the illusion has not disappeared entirely. As the Los Angeles Olympics audience applauds the graceful gymnastic successors to Nadia Comaneci, the power of spectacle will once again prevail. But did anyone ever notice how seldom Nadia smiled for the cameras? And of those who did, how many understood, how many cared? We speak of ideological shifts, of "independence" and "autonomy," but in reality Romania today is a country on the brink of disaster.

Ms. Pilon, a native of Romania, is a senior policy analyst for the Heritage Foundation. She is the author of "Notes From the Other Side of Night" (Regnery, 1979).